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The Week

IT IS open war once again in the Far East. The Japanese have seized the city of Shanhaikwan, on the seacoast, south of the Great Wall and therefore unquestionably within the limits of China proper. The Japanese as usual insist that Chinese provocation caused them to take this step; but it is safe to say that their explanation will be believed nowhere outside their own country. For months, Far Eastern observers have been expecting Japan to invade Jehol, the great province lying west of Manchuria, sparsely populated but possessing important mineral resources. Such an invasion would be greatly facilitated by possession of Shanhaikwan, an important railroad town on the Peiping-Mukden line. It seems clear that the military clique in Japan once again feels that it has the power to go on with its elaborate plans, of which the seizure of Manchuria was the first step. One clue to its action is to be found in the temporary flurry of prosperity in Japan, because of the inflation of its currency. Such stimulation does not last long, and the militarists are evidently acting in haste to take advantage of it. A second reason for resumption of the campaign is the attitude of China. The Chinese feel that the League of Nations has betrayed them and that they must act for themselves if they are to be saved. The longer Japan waits, the stronger China is likely to prove, in a military sense. Finally, there is the recent rapprochement between China and Russia, to alarm the Japanese and make them feel it is now or never. Russia, to be sure, does not want to fight, and will go to almost any lengths to avoid it; but her renewed friendship with China doubtless looks to Japan like more of a menace that it actually is; and under the stress of her fear, Japan may take steps which will force Russia into the field.

THOSE who may be heartened by the figures assembled by the United States Chamber of Commerce to show that the United States is still the leader of the nations in the quantity of its exports should remember also the figures showing that our foreign trade, export and import, has declined during the depression more than that of any other great nation. This being the case, American opinion is divided sharply into two groups—those who, like The Saturday Evening Post and the Hearst papers, urge that we buy even less abroad, and those who, like the distinguished economists who have just addressed a memorandum to President-elect Roosevelt, urge a world movement of tariff reduction in order to facilitate both buying and selling abroad. These economists propound the strange doctrine that if we let in more manufactured articles, employment in our factories will be increased rather than decreased as Messrs. Curtis and Hearst argue. Why? Because if we buy more foreign manufactures, foreigners can buy more of our wheat and cotton, and our farmers in turn can buy more of what our factories turn out. This may seem like too complicated an idea for the economic nationalists to grasp, but it is essentially an idea familiar to every tradesman in a small city, who knows that more activity for any one store or plant in the city is likely to mean more for others, and that prosperity arises from buying and selling rather than from keeping customers away.

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ONE of the first tasks of Governor Lehman of New York will be to deal with the report of the commission appointed to investigate the abuses in the operation of workmen's compensation insurance—a report which, we understand, has been turned over to the Medical Society for recommendations. The subject is important not merely for one state, or because it involves details of administration, but because we are bound to depend increasingly throughout the nation on social insurance, and we must guard it rigorously against the kind of dissatisfaction which can be utilized to undermine and delay the whole movement. The commission was responsible and expert; it made a careful study of the situation and it uncovered genuine causes of complaint. Many of the doctors who examine and report upon cases of injury have little professional relationship either to the injured persons or the state. They are employees of third parties making a profit out of the business of adjusting claims, or have a relationship to the insurance companies which is inconsistent with an impartial judgment concerning the nature of the disability. The fact that there are private insurers instead of a compulsory state fund, as in Ohio, also leads to trouble. Though the subject may be an embarrassing one for the state administration, it should be fearlessly and candidly dealt with.

BOTH the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People and the Tuskegee Normal and Industrial Institute this year report a decline in the number of lynchings which have occurred during the past year. The N.A.A.C.P. lists eleven, the Tuskegee Institute eight. The discrepancy in the figures is due to the definition of lynching accepted by the two organizations, the former calling it the murder of a white or black person by at least three people, while the latter makes a more restricted definition of the term. According to the figures of the N.A.A.C.P., this is three lynchings fewer than last year, when there were fourteen, but this does not necessarily mean that fewer Negroes were killed by white mobs. There is at the present time a strong movement in the South against mob violence which not only leads the authorities there to suppress any tendency toward it, but sometimes to give its manifestations a quasi-legal status. In other words, a sheriff will in many cases deputize the members of a lynch mob so that it becomes a posse, rather than a group acting without legal authority. The N.A.A.C.P. has announced that there are increasingly so many of these borderline cases, in which it is almost impossible to distinguish between lynching and legitimate killing, that henceforth it will list the number of Negroes killed by posses. Of the offenses for which the eleven were lynched, the N.A.A.C.P. lists quarreling with an employer, murder, stealing a ten-dollar bill, dynamiting a store, insulting a white woman and threatening a man with a knife.

A RECENT example of these borderline cases where it is difficult to distinguish between a lawless mob and a legal posse was the Tallapoosa County case to which we referred last week. Since then, two more Negroes have died from the wounds inflicted by the deputies of that section who are endeavoring to break up the Share Croppers' Union, an organization of radical tendencies. It is reported that the leader of the Union, Cliff James, was shot in the back by the deputies who had come to seize his cattle for a small debt which he owed, that he was thrown into jail, after having been turned over to the police by the officials of the Tuskegee Institute where he had gone for aid, refused all medical service for twenty-four hours and finally died from his wounds. It is not definitely known how many other Negroes were killed during the battle—two have not yet been accounted for and five are known to have been shot. How the trouble started or who was immediately responsible for the shooting is not definitely known, but it is certain that the incident is symptomatic of the agrarian unrest which exists not only in the West, but also in the South.

REPRESENTATIVE Howard of Nebraska has introduced in the House a resolution calling for an investigation of loans made by the Reconstruction Finance Corporation during the first five months of its life, from February to June, 1932. At the insistence of President Hoover, its operations during that time were secret, though Congress afterward required that they be made public, and this has been done since July. Some of the things which went on during the five months' interval have been unearthed by John T. Flynn and published by Harper's. Throughout this period, President Hoover and the directors of the R.F.C. kept issuing statements which strongly suggested that the bulk of the bank loans were going to small institutions; but Mr. Flynn shows that such statements were utterly misleading. At the end of five weeks, Mr. Hoover said publicly that $61,000,000 had been loaned to financial institutions, "including 255 banks, mostly small country banks." In fact, more than $41,000,000 of this money went to only three banks. In April, the President issued another statement that

> the banks and trust companies receiving the loans totaling $126,000,000 are located in forty-five states. The great majority of these loans are to smaller communities. Less than $3,500,000 has been authorized in cities of over one million population; more than $116,000,000 has been authorized in towns under 600,000.

Yet more than half of the total loans at that time were to three big banks, though it is true that they were located in cities of less than a million population. At the end of July, the R.F.C. announced that only 4 percent of its loans thus far had been to banks in cities of more than 200,000

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population. But the number of loans is less important than the amount of money distributed in them. In fact, 40 percent of all the cash given out in the first five months went to banks in only seven large cities.

MR. Flynn makes a number of other statements which can only be summarized here. He found, for instance:

> That only three weeks after General Dawes resigned as director of the R.F.C., the corporation authorized a loan to his Chicago bank of $90,000,000, although the bank's total deposits were only $95,000,000.
>
> That $14,000,000 was loaned to a bank of which the Chairman of the Board, until June 10, 1932, was Joseph R. Nutt, treasurer of the Republican National Committee.
>
> That $12,000,000 was loaned to a bank of which Atlee Pomerene was one of the directors. Mr. Pomerene succeeded General Dawes as chairman of the R.F.C.
>
> That at least three other banks and two insurance companies, all headed by influential Republicans, obtained large loans. One of these was the Globe and Rutgers Fire Insurance Company, whose head gave Bishop Cannon $68,000 to use in the effort to make Virginia go Republican in 1928.
>
> That the greater part of the loans to railroads have been used "to bail out the banks," and not to help legitimate investors in railroad securities; and that, in any case, to permit many of these roads to go through receivership and be relieved of their burden of debt would have been sounder public policy than to rescue them as has been done.

It may be, of course, that these institutions, controlled by prominent Republicans, needed the money as badly as anyone else and were entitled to receive it; but certainly the burden of proof is on them to show that this was the case, and that the loans were not made on a basis of political influence. Such an investigation as Representative Howard proposes should certainly reveal some greatly to be desired facts on this aspect of the matter.

OSWALD GARRISON VILLARD, editor of The Nation since 1918, retired from that post on January 1. The magazine will henceforth be conducted by a board consisting of Ernest Gruening, formerly its managing editor and recently editor of The Portland, Maine, Evening News, and three of the present Nation staff—Miss Freda Kirchwey, Henry Hazlitt and Joseph Wood Krutch. Mr. Villard, while putting aside the arduous executive duties of editorship is by no means retiring from journalism. He will continue as publisher of the paper and will contribute a weekly page. We know that every American progressive will be glad that his vigorous and able pen is not to be stilled, and will watch with interest the new experiment in the editorial control of his paper.

VARIETY, that peerless journal of the amusement world, recently made a careful poll of 150 cities in the United States and Canada as to the favorite radio program in each community. It was found that the three most popular entertainers, in the eyes of the Americans, were in descending order Eddie Cantor, Ed Wynn and Jack Pearl. In Canada, according to Variety's listing, they were the New York Philharmonic Orchestra, the Philadelphia Orchestra and the Metropolitan Opera Company. This must prove something; but on the whole we had better leave it to a Canadian to say just what.

NEW magazines continue to be born almost, but not quite, as rapidly as they die. The latest newcomer is Our America, which appears in the newspaper-broadside format made familiar only two months ago by The American Spectator. Our America is a journal of and, apparently, for the left-wing intellectuals. Its chief editors are J. B. S. Hardman, James Rorty and David J. Saposs and the first issue contains articles by these and by such well known other writers in the same field as Louis B. Boudin, Lewis Corey and Paul F. Brissenden. It is not quite clear from the first issue what audience the paper means to reach, aside from the editors and their friends; it would seem to be over the head of the average working man, and too radical for the bourgeois magazine reader. But certainly it has as much and more excuse for being than The American Spectator, and we wish it luck.

THE recent election in Puerto Rico, as a result of which the two parties favoring immediate admission to the United States, with all the rights and privileges of a state, polled 55 percent of the popular vote, does not necessarily mean that the Puerto Ricans are eager to surrender hope of their autonomy as a nation. Reports concerning the election suggest that the vote in favor of Americanization was to a large extent gained by legal trickery and the theft of votes. Though the Nationalist party, in order to receive official recognition, had collected the names of more than 30,000 members, it received only 5,000 votes in the election—a fact which would seem to indicate that many of the votes had either been destroyed or stolen. Moreover, the Unionist party, also advocating complete independence for the island, had by a stroke of legal jockeying immediately before the election been robbed not only of its name but of its symbol on the ballot. As 40 percent of the voters on the island are illiterate, it is extremely important that the sign be printed on the ballot. The court by a decree changed not only the symbol of the party, but its name. As a result many voters cast their vote for the Unión Republicana under the impression that they were supporting the Unionist party which favored complete independence. For these various reasons it is un-

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wise to assume that Puerto Rico is eager to join this nation as a state. The fact that the parties supporting the Americanization movement had to steal votes and practise legal tricks to gain their ends seems to point toward an opposite conclusion.

IN THE past, it has been the custom for the American Federation of Labor virtually to dictate the selection of the Secretary of Labor. This was not the case in regard to the appalling Mr. Doak; but the reason was chiefly a quarrel between two factions, and not an abandonment of the principle. Now the A. F. of L. is again trying to force its choice upon a newly elected President. Every possible pressure is being brought to bear upon Mr. Roosevelt on behalf of Daniel J. Tobin, president of the Union of Teamsters, Chauffeurs, Stablemen and Helpers, an old-line labor leader, though better than several recent Secretaries of Labor, and more liberal on such questions as social insurance than such a person as Matthew Woll. There is but one other candidate whom Mr. Roosevelt is seriously considering—Miss Frances Perkins, New York State Industrial Commissioner, a brilliant woman who has had a notable career, and is now beyond question the outstanding government official of the United States—whether federal, state or municipal—in the field of labor relations. It is easy to see the pressure which is being exerted on Governor Roosevelt to force a decision against Miss Perkins—the fact that she is a woman, that her presence in the Cabinet would be a dangerous innovation, that she is not a spokesman for organized labor (though she is accused of no unfriendliness toward it). On the other hand, it seems pretty clear that if he selects Mr. Tobin instead of Miss Perkins, he will have given once and for all the measure of his administration, and it will be a profoundly disappointing one to many thousands of progressives who voted for him believing there really would be "a new deal."

Social Science Looks at Revolution

WHEN President Hoover in 1929 appointed the Committee of experts to report on social trends, he probably had no idea what serious flaws in our culture it would disclose. The depression had not begun; reports of other commissions had been utilized by political supporters of the administration as much to celebrate our civilization as to indicate that great changes in it were needed. It is inconceivable that the President himself would have uttered so many reassuring words about traditional individualism if he had been thoroughly conscious of the sort of facts which even a brief summary of this report (like that on page 231 of this issue of The New Republic) reveals. Some hint of this is contained in his brief foreword to the report, in which he says, "Since the task assigned to the Committee was to inquire into changing trends, the result is emphasis on elements of instability rather than stability in our social structure."

This is somewhat less than candid, because it was the job of the Committee to examine both changing and unchanging institutions: as it says, "it has merely uncovered the situation as it is." It found an immense amount of change: various forces "have hurried us dizzily away from the days of the frontier into a whirl of modernisms which almost passes belief." And the chief element of instability, it discovered, was the lack of balance between those things that have changed and those that have not changed enough. It speaks of "astonishing contrasts" as between "splendid technical efficiency in some incredible skyscraper and monstrous backwardness in some equally incredible slum." The Committee could not speak more plainly on this subject. "It is the express purpose of the review of these findings . . . to direct attention to the importance of balance among the factors of change. A nation advances not only by dynamic power, but by and through the maintenance of equilibrium among the many forces. . . . Unequal rates of change . . . make zones of danger and points of tension. It is almost as if the various functions of the body or the parts of the automobile were operating at unsynchronized speeds." As we see Mr. Hoover's tendency, it has been to oppose synchronization; to encourage those technical and business changes which were making the most rapid advance in any case, and to discourage change in the parts of our political and ideational equipment which were already the most sluggish. We say this, not to make a point against a defeated President, but to indicate the tragic mistake of the body of opinion which he represents.

The Committee was not given a code of social standards by which to evaluate what it found, nor was it entrusted with the task of recommending a program. Nevertheless there inevitably appear hints of both in its work. A mass of statistics would be meaningless unless they were arranged about problems, and problems do not arise unless we make some assumption about what ends are desirable. The central assumption is stated by the Committee as follows: "We may hold steadily to the importance of viewing social situations as a whole in terms of the interrelation and interdependence of our national life," and of viewing problems "as those of a single society based upon the assumption of common welfare as the goal of common effort." The far-reaching implications of this statement may escape the eye. It sounds like a truism, or like a formula which does not fit us at present, since we are not really "a single society" seeking "common welfare" by "common effort." We are a congeries of self-seeking in-

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dividuals, groups and classes. But the Committee does not pretend that we are now anything else. Only in the light of a valuation which is so far from fitting the facts, does the enormity of the facts appear. Yet the central test of values implied by the Committee will be shared by many persons—by many more now, perhaps, than for previous years of our recent history.

Another vital choice of ends by the Committee is that it wishes to achieve balance, not by suppressing the rapid changes in technology. "On the contrary, it holds that social invention has to be stimulated to keep pace with mechanical invention." The implications of this statement are also far-reaching. It gives no support to those who want to "go back," to seek refuge in "fundamentals," to have a lower standard of living, to establish self-sufficient farms, to seek a way out by barter and handicraft. Nor is it sympathetic with attempts to restore laissez-faire, to liquidate this depression merely in order to pursue the old round of expansion and collapse.

The policy which it recommends is derived from these bases. "Social problems are products of change," and "social changes are interrelated." But there are lags among the changes, which bring maladjustment. The delays "may arise from vested interests resisting change in self-defense, from the difficulty with which men readjust familiar ideas and ideals, or from various obstacles which obstruct the transmission of impulses from man to man." The varying changes not only give rise to dangers, but hold out great promise of betterment. "The objective of any conscious control over the process is to secure a better adjustment between inherited nature and culture. The means of social control is social discovery and the wider adoption of new knowledge."

But the effort to do this cannot be merely a happy improvisation by a few. Neat panaceas are a delusion. It is "a job for cumulative thinking by many minds over years to come. Discovery and invention are themselves social processes made up of countless individual achievements. Nothing short of the combined intelligence of the nation can cope with the predicaments here mentioned." There are, however, certain indispensable prerequisites to such an effort, as follows:

> Willingness and determination to undertake important integral changes in the reorganization of social life, including the economic and the political orders, rather than the pursuance of a policy of drift.
>
> Recognition of the role which science must play in such a reorganization of life.
>
> Continuing recognition of the intimate interrelationship between changing scientific techniques, varying social interests and institutions, modes of social education and action and broad social purposes.

How are these prerequisites to be achieved? First, by an emphasis of thinkers upon finding the *meaning* of our wide knowledge. Important contributions by individuals emphasizing the focus of social problems, rather than merely assembling data, as in the recent past. We have had many fact-finding agencies; the next development "may find more emphasis upon interpretation and synthesis."

Next, a development of more governmental planning, and advance thinking by official bodies.

Third, a going organization of social scientists (perhaps through the Social Science Research Council), both "for the consideration of *ad hoc* problems and for more and continuous generalized consideration of broader aspects of social integration and planning." Though the Committee modestly refrains from saying so, their own work is a sample of what might be expected from a continuous activity of this sort.

Fourth, there might emerge "a National Advisory Council, including scientific, governmental, economic (industrial, agricultural and labor) points of contact, or other appropriate elements, able to contribute to the consideration of the basic social problems of the nation." Whatever the approach, however, "the type of planning now most urgently required is neither economic planning alone nor governmental planning alone."

Revolutionary critics will be quick to point out that such a program says little of the conflict of class interests which may interfere with its execution, or warp its direction. The Committee lays little stress on the organization of power which is necessary to give to any "determination to undertake important integral changes." But the Committee does not overlook this realm of discussion. It "does not wish to exaggerate the role of intelligence in social direction. . . . Social action, however, is the resultant of many forces among which, in an age of science and education, conscious intelligence may certainly be reckoned as one."

If we do not make progress by the methods here described, there are alternatives "urged by dictatorial systems in which the factors of force and violence may loom large. In such cases the basic decisions are forcibly imposed by power groups.... Unless there can be a more impressive integration of social skills and fusing of social purposes than is revealed by recent trends . . . there can be no assurance that these alternatives with their accompaniments of violent revolution . . . can be averted. . . . The Committee does not wish to assume an attitude of alarmist irresponsibility, but on the other hand it would be highly negligent to gloss over the stark and bitter realities of the social situation, and to ignore the imminent perils in further advance of our heavy technical machinery over crumbling roads and shaking bridges. There are times when silence is not neutrality, but assent."

These are words which are likely to be quoted by future historians. But it would leave a false

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impression to state the issue as one between those who wish to make changes merely in order to avert violent revolution, and those who wish a violent revolution in order to make the desired changes. That is beside the point. We are already involved in an inexorable revolutionary process; it has been developing for years and it still has years to go. This report is in itself both a revolutionary portent and a revolutionary act. It constitutes one of the most important of the processes of a great social change—what is called by the Committee "the formulation of new and emergent values." Without this sort of activity by leaders of intelligence, no social revolution, whether violent or non-violent, ever occurred. Violence, if it comes, will be merely incidental to the larger forces that are pushing us into a new society, merely a sign of stress too great to be borne through a series of smaller adjustments.

Labor Union Racketeers

IN RECENT years there have grown up in some American unions serious abuses which are commonly described as "labor racketeering." They consist in the main of extortion by union officials, who often betray the principles of trade unionism in the process. Sometimes these men extract bribes from employers of labor under threat of calling a strike, or accept payments to break a strike which has already been called, perhaps for this sole purpose. Sometimes they force union members to pay heavily for the privilege of working, or shift them back and forth from one union to another, with repeated assessments of heavy initiation fees. Now and then the labor leader goes into the business of "selling" supplies and equipment to the employers.

It should be said at once that such activities by labor leaders are no more reprehensible than racketeering by any other group; they are a reflection of our current business morality, and especially of the morality of the business man who by his acquiescence, and sometimes by his initiative, makes such labor racketeering possible. Nevertheless, the evil is one which ought to be stamped out. But responsible labor leaders whose job it is to do this, such as William Green, head of the American Federation of Labor, have a reluctance which can be understood, even if not condoned, to take public action. They know that unionism in America is now fighting for its life, and they hate to give aid and comfort to the enemy by making public the ugly facts. They should now realize, however, that if they don't move in this matter, others are certain to.

Within recent weeks, two important unions have been the subject of legal action. With the aid of the courts, Sam Kaplan has been removed from the presidency of New York Local 306 of the Motion Picture Machine Operators' Union, after a long series of charges had been made against him. Now Patrick J. Commerford, head of the New York local of the International Union of Operating and Hoisting Engineers, has been sentenced to a year and a day in Atlanta Penitentiary for evasion of his income tax. Commerford, a powerful Tammany politician, had also been accused, without his making any successful denial, of accepting large sums from contractors to break strikes and occasionally to permit the employment of non-union workers, as well as other undesirable practices (including the shooting of two process-servers who tried to subpoena him).

Some months before he was sentenced to Atlanta, Commerford had been removed from control of the New York union, No. 125, through a receivership. Thereupon, with the aid of the International President of this union, John Possehl, Commerford simply created a new union, No. 130, revoked the charter of No. 125, and went merrily ahead doing business at the new stand.

Last July, Mr. Green announced that the A. F. of L. would protect its members from racketeering, "even to the extent of taking the drastic steps of suspending an international which has failed to act upon proof of wrongdoing by local leaders." In the light of this promise, the Conference for Progressive Labor Action has sent to Mr. Green a demand that the charter of the Operating and Hoisting Engineers' Union shall be lifted until International President Possehl can be removed from office. The C.P.L.A. says that Commerford has been supported by Possehl "in his attacks on the union membership, in his suppression of all elections during the three years he served as supervisor, in his creation of a fake local 130 dominated by Commerford to offset the legitimate local 125, and in Commerford's entire autocratic and corrupt policy." These are extremely serious charges, but they appear to be completely borne out by the facts. We do not see how Mr. Green can ignore them without breaking his promise of last summer. Nor do we see how he can fail to take action without risking the ultimate destruction of the A. F. of L. itself.

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The American Drift

IN 1929 the President asked a committee of scientists to examine the recent social trends in the United States. It consisted of Wesley C. Mitchell, Charles E. Merriam, Shelby M. Harrison, Alice Hamilton, Howard W. Odum and William F. Ogburn. Each member is an expert in his field; each has a broad view of social problems as a whole. It proceeded carefully to map out its task, to enlist the support of other specialists and, with the aid of hundreds of collaborators, to conduct its research. Its report has just been rendered—"Recent Social Trends,"[1] in two volumes, aggregating 1,568 pages and comprising twenty-nine chapters. Many of these chapters are, in turn, based on longer monographs.

This constitutes probably the most ambitious attempt ever made in this or any other nation to assess in detail the direction of a culture. The events of the past three years have rendered it unusually pertinent to the present age of confusion and change. We are, literally, in a hostile and dangerous terrain; qualified spies have been sent out to discover the nature of the country; this is what they found. If we had a body charged with social and economic planning, it would have to conduct much the same type of research as this. Again and again in these chapters the authors imply the need for, and the possibility of, more plan and less drift. They set out, it is true, to find facts more than to interpret them. They were supposed to be impartial rather than to center their discoveries about stated social objectives. Their search was, wherever possible, for quantitative data. Much of what they found is familiar material; there are few startling new discoveries. Some chapters deal with less important or less tangible phenomena than others; some are less well done, or are made to bear less on the main problems. Nevertheless the report, in its mass, brings together an impressive array of evidence which indicates the need of remolding our civilization.

Naturally it is impossible to give a critical estimate of such a wide array of material, or even to summarize it comprehensively in a brief article. I have attempted here merely to give incomplete abstracts of some of the more basic chapters, omitting hundreds of pages of illuminating detail and discussion. No mention at all could be made of the valuable chapters on Education, Attitudes, Racial and Ethnic Groups, Childhood and Youth, the Arts, Religious Organization, Health, Social Work, Public Welfare Activities, Growth of Governmental Functions, Public Administration and Law.

[1] Recent Social Trends in the United States. New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company. 2 vols., 1,568 pages. $10.

Population. Growth of population is slowing down; we may reach the peak between 1965 and 1970 at 146,000,000, and then begin to decline in numbers.—The largest growth in the past decade was in two states where climate was favorable (California and Florida), the next largest in states where industrial or commercial development occurred (Michigan, New Jersey, North Carolina and New York). Growth was smallest in agricultural states (there was an actual decline in Montana). This was a reflection of the fact that while technical improvement, throwing persons out of work, occurs in agriculture as well as in industry, the disemployed found it harder to get new work on farms because the market for farm staples is not so readily expansible as the market for industrial goods and services. Slowing of population growth will accentuate this tendency. Unemployment in cities during the depression has reversed the stream of migration back to the country, and if employment opportunity in the cities does not revive, "there is danger of developing a large peasant population on the millions of acres of land which are submarginal for business farming, but which will permit self-sustaining farming on a low standard of living."—Population tended to become concentrated in the larger cities; the smaller cities which showed the most growth were satellites of the bigger ones. Suburban rural areas and villages likewise increased.—As population growth is retarded, there is a much larger proportion of older persons, and a smaller one of children. This tendency is more marked in cities than in the country. It creates problems for education, employment policy, pensions and dependency, use of leisure, etc. If we regard 20 to 64 as producing ages, there was in 1930 one producing unit to 1.67 consuming units; there will be in 1950 one producing unit to 1.59 consuming units. This bears on technological unemployment.—Many economic habits have depended on anticipation of population growth. Problems will be caused for industries in which consumption per capita is relatively inelastic (*e. g.*, agriculture) and in which productive capacity already exceeds effective demand. More emphasis will be laid on increasing popular purchasing power and less on expanding plant capacity except as purchasing power increases.—We ought to have a population policy. At present there is a net tendency to restrict which "may result in neither the most desirable quantity nor the best possible quality."

Utilization of Natural Wealth. 1. Minerals. Consumption of minerals "in the twenty years ending 1929 was greater by far than in the entire

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three hundred from the landing of Captain John Smith in 1607 to the Jamestown Exposition." From 1899 to 1929 population increased 62 percent, mineral production 286 percent, power equipment (excluding automobiles) 536 percent, including automobiles, 2,510 percent. This was the main factor in the large increase of output per worker.—Mineral resources are limited. As exploitation continues, there is an ultimate danger of exhaustion, but this need cause less concern than the tendency toward increasing cost of extraction. There is a race between technical improvement in mining and increasing cost due to exhaustion of the most accessible resources. Discoveries of new fields have been made, but the era of discovery is approaching its end.—Technical advances in consumption have slowed down the use of resources, especially power resources. Electric power plants need 66 percent less coal per kilowatt hour than twenty years ago. Less than 40 percent of our water-power resources have been developed, but total water power will not go far to meet our energy requirements. Metal requirements are being increasingly met by a "revolving fund" of salvaged and reworked material.—Our mining industries are beginning to show signs of advancing age and increased cost, as those of Britain and Europe did some time ago.—In spite of ultimate danger of depletion, most mineral industries are at present suffering from overexpansion and excess capacity. This leads not only to unemployment, low wages and lack of profits, but to waste of unreplaceable resources. From 1923 to 1929, 3,300 coal mines closed and 250,000 men lost their jobs. Every year 150,000,000 tons of minable coal are left underground "under circumstances which make its recovery highly improbable." Similar wastes occur in oil. "The roots of the problem are embedded in the legal conceptions of mineral property transplanted from Tudor England." Another obstacle to better control quite as serious is the Constitution as interpreted by the courts, with its confusion between state and federal authority.—The immediate outlook is "for ample supplies available at declining cost." The long-time outlook is for growing difficulty of mining and increase of cost. Both problems are merged in a need for "controlling the waste of destructive competition."

II. Agricultural land. On account of technical advance and slowing down of population growth, the abandonment of land in crops (formerly confined to hilly, eroded or depleted soils) was extended in the last decade to three-fifths of the counties of the nation. Farm land prices have decreased heavily, there has been a great increase in the ratio of mortgage debt to land values, and vast areas have become tax-delinquent.—Failure to use fertilizers has caused soil depletion amounting, in the humid northern states, to about a third of the original sulphur, a fourth of the nitrogen, a fifth of the phosphorous and a tenth of the potassium. These losses are technically replaceable, if it becomes profitable to replace them. But about 17,500,000 acres of land formerly cultivated have been permanently lost by erosion. Much of this loss has occurred recently. "Probably a third of the surface soil has been removed from one-fourth of the cultivated land of the United States, and a sixth or more of the surface soil has been lost from another fourth of the farm land." Unless practices are changed, a hundred million acres may be rendered unfit for cultivation within fifty years. This is a quarter of the present crop area, and a fifth of the improved land of the nation. There is still, however, an ample surplus of land. Erosion is now important chiefly for its economic and social effects on local communities.—Agricultural output increased 27 percent between 1922 and 1926, though acreage remained virtually stationary, and labor engaged in agriculture declined. Possibilities of increase in output per worker are still large.—The problems of a shrinking agriculture cannot be left, like those of an expanding one, to individual initiative.—The problem is aggravated by the recent return to the country of unemployed workers from the city.

III. Forest Land. Of possibly 800,000,000 acres of virgin forest originally in this country, there are 100,000,000 acres of saw timber left, 120,000,000 acres grow only cordwood, 90,000,000 acres are growing new saw timber; and the rest is virtually waste. Twelve years ago it was estimated that the annual cut, plus destruction by other causes, was four times the annual growth; now the ratio is probably smaller.—Nevertheless there is an immediate surplus of timber in relation to requirements; low prices make it unprofitable for private owners to hold land and grow timber. Tax delinquency in forest and cut-over land is increasing rapidly. States and counties will be forced to take over huge areas of forest and cut-over land. But proper administration of these areas increases tax burdens, although tax resources are shrinking rapidly.—Other uses of forests, possible only under public administration, must be developed, such as protection of watersheds, which lessens floods and silting of rivers, protection of city water supplies, recreation and preservation of wild life.—We need a land policy both for forests and agriculture, to devote land to uses for which it is best fitted.

Inventions. A mass of interesting detail buttresses certain well known conclusions. Inventions are increasing at an accelerated pace; each invention breeds new ones; the process is like compound interest. Most inventions are not dramatic instances, but slight improvements. Necessity is not the mother of invention; invention depends on a long accumulation of skills and knowledge, on a social process.—Inventions are a major force of social change. Many of their influences are indirect and diffused. Thus, the tin can helped

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woman suffrage; the mechanical stoker for locomotives affected the status of the Negro (because it lengthened trains and increased the demand for porters); the automobile lessened communicable diseases (fewer horses, fewer flies). A hundred and fifty major social effects of the radio are listed.—On account of the increased rapidity of inventions, technological unemployment is likely to be more serious.—There are social as well as mechanical inventions: the two kinds interact in a continuous chain. But social adjustment, on the whole, lags behind mechanical advance. We cannot assume that the most useful inventions are those which are now made, or are applied. What inventions should be encouraged? Particularly, what social inventions? In what order should new inventions be employed? "The problem of the better adaptation of society to its large and changing material culture and the problem of lessening the delay in adjustment are cardinal problems for social science."

Communication. This chapter covers the most striking and best publicized factors of technical change in the past generation—the development of the automobile, aviation, radio and motion picture, as well as older services like railroads, shipping, telegraphs, cables, newspapers and magazines. The comprehensiveness and detail of the survey emphasizes and puts content into the accepted truths that the population has become far more mobile, the world is psychologically a smaller place, we are more intimately affected by things that happen at a distance, the tempo of life is speeded, control over mass behavior is greatly increased. Both the necessity and the possibility of integrated planning are frequently emphasized.

Economic Organization. This chapter is probably the best brief summary that has appeared anywhere of post-war economic events. High points are: the physical production of agriculture, mining, manufacture and construction grew more than twice as fast, in relation to the population, between 1922 and 1929 as it had done before the War. This gain, however, occurred to far greater extent in capital equipment than in goods for consumption. Among consumption goods themselves, durable things like automobiles and houses were the chief gainers; foods, textiles and shoes increased less rapidly than population. During the depression, production of capital equipment and durable goods fell far more than other types.—The farmers were not prosperous during prosperity; the share of wage earners in the earnings of manufacture decreased.—Banks scarcely expanded their commercial loans during prosperity; but they greatly enlarged their loans on, and investments in, securities and real estate. Bank credit largely financed the growth of capital equipment, as did the profits of industry itself.—When the crash came, this shift of banking resources from short-term to long-term and more speculative obligations put banks in a peculiarly dangerous situation and aggravated the whole problem. Consumers also financed their purchases during prosperity largely on credit.—The post-war period has been marked by rapid and wide price changes.—Business, in efforts to achieve stability of profits, evinced a rapid trend toward larger units and combinations. Concentrated financial control grew. This tendency is not likely to be permanently halted by the depression.—The international occurrences were likewise important, especially the sudden expansion and equally sudden contraction of our loans abroad.—The result of all is a far greater public concern with "the problems of industrial stability and financial safety and with the government's part in achieving both."

Occupations. Those engaged in agriculture, manufacture, mining and railroads decreased in numbers, both absolutely and in relation to the total population, even before the depression. "In 1875 about 75 percent of the gainfully employed were engaged in the production of physical goods. . . . In 1930 only about 50 percent were so employed." There has been a large accompanying growth in those engaged in trade, clerical service, finance, the professions, public service and the like. Part of this expansion is necessary to a complex civilization. Part doubtless represents inefficiency and waste, the elimination of which will aggravate unemployment.

Metropolitan Communities. "The past decade has witnessed the emergence of a new population and functional entity—the metropolitan community or supercity." There is a need of "some sort of super-metropolitan government." Annexation by the city is no longer satisfactory. "Some plan of coördination of governmental functions must be developed before the political unity of the real functional metropolitan community can be achieved."

Rural Life. There has been urbanization of the country and ruralization of the city. "As one observes the pattern of life in concentric zones around the city the old differences between urban and rural life begin to fade." Old local political units lose their meaning and traditional tax systems must be remodeled.

Vitality. The average age at death has greatly increased, but this is due to the reduction in the mortality rate among persons under middle age. "There has been a slower but consistent increase in the mortality of persons in middle and old age." There is little evidence to prove any change in the vitality, in a strictly biological sense, of the American people. Survival seems to depend far more on environmental factors. There is great room for improvement in this respect, especially in the factors affecting the health of persons over forty.

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It is also an appalling fact that "nearly 5 percent of American babies at birth have the prospect of becoming so mentally diseased in adult life as to require admission to some institution."

The Family. The family has greatly declined in importance as an economic unit. Its instability and impermanence are increasing rapidly. There is still, of course, an immense amount of household work and great room for its improvement. "The future stability of the family will depend much more on the strength of the affectional bonds."

Women. There has been a great increase of women in the wage-earning group, but women's entrance into more skilled and responsible positions has been more limited. Industry "is not making full use of the varieties of abilities or capacities possessed by women. . . . Some limitations which were characteristic of the position of women in the earlier order of family organization still persist."

Labor. A comprehensive and able chapter covering much familiar ground emphasizes the increase of a "dependence of labor upon a going concern and an economic system almost entirely beyond its control." While, up to the depression, there was some increase of real wages, the reasonable expectations of labor have risen and are far from being satisfied. Instability, insecurity, unemployment, have been enhanced. The trade-union movement has become more conservative and has declined in importance. There are signs of a possible reorientation of the labor movement.

Consumers. Consumers have been buying much more on credit than before the War. The sharp increase in quantity and kinds of consumers' goods necessitates choices among "more kinds of ways of carrying on familiar processes than any previous generation has faced." Consumers' habits have changed drastically; the style element has steadily become more prominent, to the discomfiture of industry and the consumer alike. The problem of the consumer is complex, gives rise to conflict, strain and uncertainty. Some agencies have arisen to help the consumer, but "society is content to allow the buying of a living to remain, like health in the Middle Ages, largely an area of private chaos." Signs of reversion to more primitive ways in the depression are the appearance of sole leather for home shoe repairing in ten-cent stores and a marked increase in the number of home-made coffins in rural districts.

Crime. There has been no crime wave, but some increase since the War. Most of the increase in offenses is due to prohibition and automobile traffic. "There is no one cause of, and therefore no cure for, crime." Crime is a function of the whole social and political complex. The main recent change has been the development of organization among criminals, which in turn greatly influences politics. Organized crime will survive prohibition repeal, but may be able to make less profit and thus to obtain less immunity. "Crime might conceivably be reduced by fundamental changes in social organization." Lacking that, "perhaps no method of social control can become adequate to a situation as difficult as the present." At any rate, emphasis should be upon prevention rather than punishment of the criminal.

Taxation. Local taxes "were responsible for the largest share of the absolute increase in the nation's tax bill." State and local governments are now paying "$6,800,000,000 of bonded indebtedness which is wholly the result of price inflation." (About half their total debt.) War expenditures were responsible for 79 percent of the growth of the federal tax burden. But the main increase was local, and in this no single factor was more important, aside from price inflation, than the automobile. Highways, traffic congestion and regulation, development of suburban areas, etc., all stem from this source.—Unplanned, speculative overdevelopment of cities has been a large factor. In Cook County "more than enough vacant subdivided lots are now available to provide all the housing which will be needed by all the population which may be expected to flow into that area between now and 1960." Between 1920 and 1927 enough new lots were laid out to provide for seven times the growth of population which occurred in Detroit.—Though reliance on general property taxes has declined since the War, they still constitute nearly half of the total tax revenue for the nation. Localities are handicapped in developing other and better sources of taxation by confusion between federal and state systems.—Four-fifths of the increase in taxes between 1913 and 1930 is attributable to war, education, rural highways and municipal functions other than education. One quarter of the tax collections are spent on debt service—which will not normally decline for many years.

Government and Society. The old administrative units of government do not correspond with the new economic and social areas. Some recasting has already taken place, but "the next generation will face a fundamental reorganization of these numerous units." Perhaps, instead of states, we ought to have some nineteen regions.—Government has been increasingly concerned with, and has drawn upon, education and science. Changes in governmental structure have been resisted, but its functions and expense have greatly increased, especially in administrative and executive departments, in semi-independent commissions or corporations. There are no clear borderlines among the various units and functions of government, or between them and business undertakings.—Graft and racketeering

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have had increasing political influence.—Lobbies and pressure groups have grown greatly in size and importance. (There are seven private corporations, each of which has larger revenues and more employees than any single state or any city except New York.) Political parties are declining. All this leads to serious consideration of new forms of government, more in accord with organized social groupings.—There has been little change in the legislative branch, except in cities.—The judiciary has made attempts to adapt itself to the new situation, but in general lags far behind. (From 1900 to 1930, thirty-three acts of Congress were held unconstitutional, and in all the preceding years of the Republic only twenty-six.)—Concepts of liberty were confused and changing. Discussion of this subject goes to the roots of our order.—In political theory one of the dominant attitudes at present is "the tendency toward organized planning as against drift in public affairs."—In the recent past there has been relatively little governmental change, and "an indifference or even hostility to different types of social theory in a world where the foundations of private property, democracy and representative government are being sharply challenged on every hand." But "we may safely forecast that in the next period it will no longer be found possible to escape full and free discussion of the fundamentals of democracy and capitalism alike, and far more constructive or destructive change than has been evident during the past generation."

I wish I could quote in full Professor Merriam's concluding pages. But here we must be satisfied with scraps.

> On the whole, the outstanding fact . . . is the rapid extension of governmental activities and costs on the one hand, and on the other the relatively slight change in governmental units, organization, methods and personnel. New functions are welcomed, but corresponding changes in the direction of unity, coordination, capacity and competence of political power are either resisted or tardily accepted. . . . The heavy pressure of powerful social, economic and technical forces threatens to crush the shell of a government which becomes more and more important in the social and economic situation. . . . Only a strong government can either act intelligently in . . . crises or refrain from action. A weak government can do neither. . . . A weak government shows narrowness instead of breadth, delay instead of deliberation, wild and irregular vacillation instead of steady adaptation, drifting tendencies instead of inventiveness and preparedness. . . . The futility of weak government will be equally disastrous whether it refrains from social action or attempts it. Its retreats will be routs and its advances meaningless muddles. . . . The industrial order is on trial as well as the political in this case. . . . If business is closer to technical mechanical efficiency, it is farther from the sense of social responsibility equally important to mankind. Industry as well as government suffers from disorganization and lack of direction, from conspicuous waste and profitable fraud. . . . Governmental corruption and incompetence and lack of central direction are not comprehensible away from the social and economic environment of which they are a part. . . .
>
> How shall we blend the skills of government, industrial and financial management, agriculture, labor and science in a new synthesis of authority, uniting power and responsibility, with a vivid appeal to the vital interest of our day, able to deal effectively with the revolutionary developments of our social, economic and scientific life, yet without stifling liberty, justice and progress?

GEORGE SOULE.

Trotsky: II

WHAT *was* this idea of which Trotsky, on his way to exile, shouting to the almost empty railway station, saw himself the prime spokesman and embodiment? What *was* the Revolution which he believed was being sent into banishment? What was the Marxism for which he fought?

We have an eloquent account of what Marxism meant to him in a passage of his autobiography where he tells of reading the letters of Marx and Engels at a time when he was trying unsatisfactorily to work with the Austrian Social Democrats:

> The Viennese leaders of the Social Democracy used the same formulas that I did. But one had only to turn any of them five degrees around on their own axes to discover that we gave quite different meanings to the same concepts. Our agreement was a temporary one, superficial and unreal. The correspondence between Marx and Engels was for me not a theoretical one, but a psychological revelation. *Toutes proportions gardées,* I found proof on every page that to these two I was bound by a direct psychological affinity. Their attitude to men and ideas was mine. I guessed what they did not express, shared their sympathies, was indignant and hated as they did. Marx and Engels were revolutionaries through and through. But they had not the slightest trace of sectarianism or asceticism. Both of them, and especially Engels, could at any time say of themselves that nothing human was strange to them. But their revolutionary outlook lifted them always above the hazards of fate and the works of men. Pettiness was incompatible not only with their personalities, but with their presences. Vulgarity could not stick even to the soles of their boots. Their appreciations, sympathies, jests—even when most commonplace—are always touched by the rarefied air of spiritual nobility. They may pass deadly criticism on a man, but they will never deal in tittle-tattle.

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> They can be ruthless, but not treacherous. For outward glamor, titles or rank they have nothing but a cool contempt. What philistines and vulgarians considered aristocratic in them was really only their revolutionary superiority. Its most important characteristic is a complete and ingrained independence of official public opinion at all times and under all conditions.

This affinity, this admiration, are later to be felt for Lenin. The whole of Trotsky's later work is oriented toward Lenin. There are moments in his autobiography, to be sure, when we lose sight of anybody but Trotsky—episodes of which we are made to feel that we are reading simply the extraordinary adventures of an extraordinary individual: the escape from Siberia, for example, which is as exciting as Casanova's escape from the Leads, seems written from a similar point of view. And even in the journeys of the armored train we feel caught up into Trotsky's self-dramatizing imagination until we begin to see the whole story as a chapter in a novel rather than as a feature of a military campaign. But the real hero of "My Life" remains for all that, not Trotsky himself, but Lenin—or rather, Trotsky's relation to Lenin.

Trotsky had gone to see Lenin in London almost immediately after his escape from Siberia, but had broken with him as a result of the 1903 Congress. He had become then an independent revolutionist, had returned to Russia in 1905 and headed the St. Petersburg Soviet; but the gauge of Trotsky's capacity seems to be that though his egoism makes him independent and makes it possible for him to take initiative in action—he is never so formidable, says one observer, as when he is driven into a tight place—he needed Lenin's compass to steer by. Lenin, who had never had a moment's sympathy for the "imperialist war," had complained after 1914, that "just as Trotsky stood formerly for coöperation with the Socialist 'compromisers,' so today he stands for coöperation with the Socialist patriots." But though Trotsky had never been a Bolshevik but had remained aloof up to 1917, it did not take him long to turn to Lenin when he came back to Petrograd after the February revolution.

In "My Life" the personality of Lenin is built up by a series of small anecdotes, unpretentiously introduced but very skillfully chosen and placed, until it has come to stand for a whole moral and intellectual domain, involving, as I have suggested, also Trotsky's ideal for himself. First, we see Trotsky in prison eagerly reading Lenin; then, still charged with the excitement of his escape from Siberia, looking up Lenin early in the morning as soon as he arrives in London: "Lenin was still in bed, and the kindly expression of his face was tinged with a justifiable amazement." Lenin takes him for a walk around London and points out to him Westminster Abbey: "This is their famous Westminster," he says—and Trotsky explains that this "their" of Lenin's designated, not the English, but the ruling classes of the world. "This implication," Trotsky continues, "which was not in the least emphasized but, coming as it did from the very innermost depths of the man and expressed more by the tone of his voice than by anything else, was always present, whether Lenin was speaking of the treasures of culture, of new achievements, of the wealth of books in the British Museum, of the information of the larger European newspapers or, years later, of German artillery or French aviation. They know this or they have that, they have made this or achieved that—but what enemies they are! To his eyes, the invisible shadow of the ruling classes always overlay the whole of human culture—a shadow that was as real to him as daylight." In this first meeting, the relation is established. By a few sharp and brief strokes, Trotsky puts before us the characters of the two men: the younger fervent and inconsiderate, slightly exhibitionistic, in pursuit of the cues to his historic role; the older assuming his revolutionary purpose and the social insight on which it is based so much as a matter of course that in a world scarcely yet seriously troubled with them, it never occurs to him to emphasize them or to put forward his own personality because of them.

Later on, after the years of their political estrangement, Trotsky plots the further course of the development of this relation during the years of the Revolution and of the building of the socialist state. We see Trotsky and Lenin, during the October revolution, lying down on the floor of an empty room of the Smolny Institute where Lenin's sister has spread a blanket for them and trying to relax from their tense fatigue, but unable to sleep and finally remembering that they are not sure yet of the Winter Palace: Trotsky rushes to the phone while Lenin tries to induce him to rest and forget about it for the moment while they send a messenger instead. We hear Lenin in the later period dubious about what would become of the Bolshevik leadership: "How many of us know what Europe is, what the world labor movement is?" We are given Krupskaya's note to Trotsky after Lenin's death: "Dear Lev Davydovich: I write to tell you that about a month before his death, as he was looking through your book, Vladimir Ilyich stopped at the place where you sum up Marx and Lenin and asked me to read it over again to him; he listened very attentively and then looked it over again himself. And here is another thing I want to tell you. The attitude of V. I. toward you at the time when you came to us in London from Siberia did not change up to his death. . . ."

Add to this the presentation of Lenin in Trotsky's history of the Revolution. He gets a fine climax to the first volume, which deals with the confused and half-hearted course of the February revolution, by dramatizing the arrival of Lenin in Petrograd. A delegation from the Petrograd Soviet is sent to give him an official welcome with all the accoutrements of bourgeois ceremony in the "Tsar's Room" of the railway station: Lenin

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comes running in, "in a round hat," and "with a chilly face," holding in his arms a large bouquet of flowers which has just been presented to him; when he comes up to the personage who is supposed to greet him, the Menshevik president of the Soviet, he suddenly stops short "as if he had run into a completely unexpected obstacle"; the president makes a formal speech which implies that, though they are glad to have him back, he had better behave himself: Lenin waits with an air of detachment, looking around at the other people and then looking up at the ceiling while he absent-mindedly rearranges the flowers. Then, turning away from the delegates, without replying directly to the speech, he addresses the audience standing by: "Dear comrades, soldiers, sailors and workers, I am happy to greet in you the victorious Russian revolution, to greet you as the advance guard of the international proletarian army. . . . The hour is not far when . . . the people will turn their weapons against their capitalist exploiters. . . . The world revolution achieved by you has opened a new epoch. Long live the worldwide socialist revolution!" Proceeding to Bolshevik headquarters, he can hardly wait for the members of his own party to end their own eulogistic speeches of greeting before he begins to bawl them out in a terrific unexpected blast for the tepidity of their policies: "We don't need any parliamentary republic! We don't need any bourgeois democracy! We don't need any government except the Soviet of workers', soldiers' and farmhands' deputies!" Stroke by stroke, incident by incident, Trotsky paints Lenin in: his sly humor; his patience; his self-forgetfulness; his "terrific inner concentration under a surface of calm and 'prosaic' sincerity"; his shyness in certain connections; his "power of realistic imagination"; his "pedantic notary" side—his combination of "boldness of conception" with "meticulous carefulness in its fulfilment."

Yet with all this—and this is essential to Trotsky's Marxism—neither Trotsky nor Lenin is presented as a historical protagonist of the ordinary kind. They are merely the conscious theoretical part of humanity merging at the moment of strongest social pressure with "the immediate action of those oppressed masses who are farthest away from theory." "Revolution is the inspired frenzy of history": as with the writer or the orator, says Trotsky, "in the moment of what is called creative inspiration, something stronger than himself speaks through him or guides his hand, so the hidden strength and instinct of the masses rose to infuse the words and acts of its leaders." "Outwardly, it did not look very imposing: men went about tired, hungry and unwashed, with inflamed eyes and unshaven beards. And afterward none of them could recall much about those critical days and hours."

In spite of his personal admiration for Lenin, he shows in his history of the Revolution how Lenin as well as the Tsar is molded and directed by the pressure of a social situation.

> The role of personality [he writes] arises before us here on a truly gigantic scale. It is necessary only to understand that role correctly, taking personality as a link in the historic chain. The "sudden" arrival of Lenin from abroad after a long absence, the furious cry raised by the press around his name, his clash with all the leaders of his own party and his quick victory over them—in a word, the external envelope of circumstances, make easy in this case a mechanical contrasting of the person, the hero, the genius, against the objective conditions, the mass, the party. In reality such contrast is comparatively one-sided. Lenin was not an accidental element in the historical development, but a product of the whole past of Russian history. He was embedded in it with deepest roots. Along with the vanguard of the workers he had lived through their struggle in the course of the preceding quarter century. The "accident" was not in his interference in the events, but rather that little straw with which Lloyd George tried to block his path.

In his first contacts with Marxism, he says elsewhere,

> and even afterward, when my revolutionary ideas were clearly taking shape, I would catch myself in an attitude of mistrust of action by the masses, taking a bookish, abstract and, therefore, skeptical view of the revolution. I had to combat all this within myself, by my thinking, my reading, but mainly by means of experience, until the elements of psychic inertia had been confuted within me. . . . Perhaps the fact that I had consciously to overcome within me the reverberations of the eighties enabled me to approach fundamental problems of mass action in a more serious, concrete and profound manner.

Trotsky's relation to the masses was thus never precisely that of a great popular spokesman, but rather of an engineer of mass tendencies. He studies their needs, where they are heading, the "coördination of forces"; he learns the technique of guiding their action. But in his absorption in the study of these processes and the methods of dealing with them, his egoism disappears. His conception of society and its development is illustrated in masterly fashion by his "History of the Russian Revolution." Here, as in Marx's "Eighteenth Brumaire of Louis Bonaparte," we are made to look through the shadow-play of politics at the group interests, the collective needs and appetites which, partly unknown to the actors themselves, throw the silhouettes on the screen. Never after we have read Trotsky's history, can the language, the conventions, the combinations, the pretensions, of parliamentary politics, if we have had any illusions about them, seem the same to us again. They lose their consistency and color—evaporate before our eyes. The old sport of competition for office, the old game of parliamentary debate, seem foolish and obsolete; what is real is a new science of social readjustment and organization, approaching a degree of exactitude of which our old-fashioned political programs never dreamed, and capable of becoming a part of the cultural equipment of a people in a way quite dif-

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ferent from anything ever known among even those nations best educated politically under our "democratic" institutions.

The application of this science, however, unlike the social engineering of Mr. Stuart Chase, for example, is dominated by the Idea. Trotsky's name for his dominant idea, which he formulated as far back as 1905, is "the permanent revolution." This means that the Marxist world revolution is certain and cannot be stopped; that a bourgeois revolution in any country must be followed by a socialist revolution, that a socialist revolution in any one country must be followed by revolutions in all the others, and that in all our political calculations we must count on this being true, that this is in fact the vital consideration which should always be uppermost in our minds.

Stalin, Trotsky asserts, cares nothing about all this, the world-vision and world-conscience of Lenin and himself. He has identified himself with an impossible program of "socialism in one country alone." Now Trotsky will blast the Bolshevik Stalin with the same kind of lofty scorn with which he has dismissed the Tsarist Kolchak: Stalin is uneducated, a philistine, a bureaucrat, a mediocrity, a ridiculously poor Marxist whom Marxism, in freeing him from provincial prejudices, has merely rendered cynical without giving him in place of his former prejudices "a philosophical outlook thoroughly thought out and mentally assimilated." Stalin and his friends had established what was actually a bureaucratic class; they went to the ballet together, dined at each other's houses, had drinking parties and gossiped about their colleagues—Lenin had winced at the vulgarity of their gossip. And Lenin and he had no place in all this. It was a mere vulgar political machine with not a trace of intellectual dignity.

No doubt the fact that Trotsky was a Jew contributed to his personal isolation and made it easier for Stalin to put him out when Lenin was no longer there to support him. When, in the first days of the Revolution, Trotsky had reminded Lenin of his Jewish origin as a possible objection to his accepting a commissariat, Lenin had told him not to bother about trifles in the midst of a great international revolution. But when Lenin was gone, it was possible for Stalin to arouse anti-Semitic feeling against him. A Jew, he had been able to rise to the height of imagination and moral passion demanded by a great moment; and, as in both Trotsky's case and Lenin's, their long years of exile had helped train them in the international point of view of Marxism, so Trotsky had a special advantage in the capacity of the Jew for adjusting himself to the different habits and mentalities of different peoples and at the same time remaining outside them. But now this very detachment was to work against his career as a statesman. Disraeli, after all, in dominating England, had, for all the detached irony of his novels, to play the game of the English: to work for England's glory and power and to solace himself with her prizes; he had not undertaken to champion a pure international doctrine.

Now when it was a question of dealing with the people, rebellious against the rigors of the dictatorship and in no mood at the moment to be interested in the theory of permanent revolution, the coarseness and the cunning of the Georgian cobbler's son worked better than the fastidiousness and aloofness of the international Jew. He had always been isolated even among the Bolsheviks: "He isn't one of us," Lenin had told Gorky. "With us, but not of us"—adding, "He is ambitious. There is something of Lassalle in him, something which isn't good." How thick the defenses of isolation of Trotsky's egoism must have been that even Lenin should have felt them! "Behind those fierce black eyes," an English observer wrote, "lurks ever the demon of suspicion and distrust, driving him to terrible pitiless acts of cruelty." It was so he had understood maintaining power: he had been too proud to be a politician and in this field had no chance against Stalin.

At any rate, as Lunacharsky felt, "condemned to a certain loneliness," Trotsky finds himself today alone on the island of Prinkipo; after the most astonishing and the most brilliantly successful excursion into action that any Marxist has ever made, he finds himself again what he was between the 1903 Congress and the 1905 revolution, between the 1905 revolution and 1917, an independent Marxist in exile with a small band of devoted followers. One has imagined him pacing the floor at Prinkipo, impatient for his next opportunity of taking the Idea into action. Yet, as he knows, it is not unfitting, not injurious to Trotsky's dignity, that he should be a man without a country on a little island between Asia and Europe; nor is he wasting his time with nothing to do but write books. In these books, all the superb "realistic imagination" with its immense scope in time and space, the ardent prophetic faith which, deriving from the horrible wars, the hideous industrial degradation and the ignoble misgovernment of our time, alone can render them endurable by its hope of "the first truly human culture," blazes out from the shut-in man to illuminate this twilight of society. "How many of us know what Europe is, what the world labor movement is?" His "History of the Russian Revolution," with its solidity and its subtlety, its extraordinary analysis of mass behavior, will probably appear when it is complete as one of the most important books of our period. And he has given even to the island of Prinkipo a historic role and a symbolic significance. It stands today for those Marxist principles which, having proved their validity in action, must still keep clear of the politics of nations as they do of those of class.

EDMUND WILSON.

This is the second of two articles on Trotsky of which the first appeared last week.—THE EDITORS.

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Washington Notes

Economy Programs—Pruning Down the Budget—War Powers for Roosevelt—Inflation—Hungry Office Seekers

THE END of the holidays finds this short session exactly in the position of all short sessions. Practically nothing has been done and there is slight prospect that much will be. There is considerable talk among the Democratic leaders of the House about putting a "program" through in order to avoid an extra session, but it is talk for publication only. They have not the least expectation of putting through a program and no desire at all to avoid an extra session.

Those who talk frankly of the situation are confident that the Hoover tax and economy programs will be scrapped. There are no alternative Democratic proposals to turn to and, in consequence, no one seriously anticipates that the nation will be any nearer solvency when the session adjourns than it is now. On the contrary, there is every reason to believe that it will be far deeper in the financial mire and that the job of pulling it out will be infinitely harder. The deficit grows larger every day, and the income-tax returns due March 15, it is freely said, will be far below the minimum Treasury estimates.

This situation is viewed in different ways by friends of the incoming President. One group with whom I talk seems deeply concerned over the probable failure to put the budget in equilibrium before Mr. Roosevelt takes over. This group argues that his burdens would be immeasurably lighter if expenditures were pruned and taxes raised to the limit at this session. The necessity for doing this could be blamed upon the outgoing Hoover administration and the advantages to be reaped from restoring a near balance are obvious. This group would like to see Mr. Roosevelt take active hold here and direct a fight for economy and increased revenues that would ensure some sort of party solidarity along these lines.

At this writing, however, such a course seems far from Roosevelt's mind. Late in January he goes to Warm Springs and early in February off on a deep-sea yachting cruise, during which he has expressed the desire to be let alone. The other group close to the President-elect applauds his decision to wait until the responsibility and the power are his own before embarking on a program of rehabilitation of the national finances and a restoration of national prosperity.

Last week, Democratic statesmen returning from conference with Governor Roosevelt at Albany revealed in part his plans and the direction in which he proposes to go. According to them, what the Governor proposes to ask from Congress is blanket authority to reorganize the governmental departments and wield the pruning knife in the interests of economy. In this way he hopes to redeem his party and personal pledge of a 25-percent reduction in the operating cost of the government. It seems to me an exceedingly sound idea if he can get the authority—and there is reason to think he can. Clearly, as such a reduction cannot be made without a wholesale slash of the compensation paid to veterans, Congress cannot be looked to for a successful effort along these lines. The power of the soldiers' lobby and the individual political interests of members of the House preclude any such possibility. A cut in veterans' compensation, like the merging of departments and the reduction of the number of federal employees, can be done only by the Executive.

The point which appears uncertain, and yet to me seems quite important, is whether he intends to ask this authority from this session or wait until the extra session of the new and overwhelmingly Democratic Congress is convened. If his idea is to ask authority from this session, then I can see considerable difficulty in the way of getting it. The authorization will have to be so sweeping in character as to give the new President war powers. It means to a large extent that Congress must confer much of its own powers upon the President. I doubt very much whether any such blanket proposal can be passed this session. Even if all Democrats support it, there would be a genuine fight in the Senate, a prolonged debate and a disposition to filibuster.

On the other hand, if Mr. Roosevelt waits to get his authority from the special session, a great deal of valuable time will be lost. If it were given him now, he would be able to put his program for retrenchment into effect immediately after his inauguration. If he waits for the special session, it certainly would be May, or probably June, before the resolution would be passed. He is not expected to call the extra session before the middle of April. He wants time to look around and orient himself; to meet the initial pressure from the ravenous horde of office seekers; to get the personnel of his administration in shape.

It does seem that a wait of three months will make the budget-balancing job a terrifically hard one. Appalling as it is at the moment, I shudder to think what it will be before the Roosevelt cuts become effective. It may easily be that the plans he and his expert advisers have in mind now will be woefully inadequate when the opportunity comes to put them into effect. I know some authorities on the subject who seriously believe that in another three months no effort to balance the budget can succeed and that an inflationary policy is inevitable. Certainly the inflationists are growing in strength around Congress and both the number and variety of the financial schemes for cheapening the dollar have increased.

However, these are Roosevelt's problems. He wanted to be President, and presumably he knew what the job entailed. I think, though, that before he has been many months in office that happy-hearted smile so conspicuous in his pictures and so charming to those with whom he come in contact will be less frequent and spontaneous. Without an overpowering amount of luck, it is going to be far harder to bring back those promised happy days than he anticipated. Before they are back there will be some grim lines in that smooth and pleasant countenance.

In the meantime Cabinet gossip ebbs and flows, and the army of job seekers multiplies in size and ferocity. Senators are besieged in their offices and homes. Members of the House are deluged with insistent telegrams, letters and telephone calls. The somewhat unwise announcement

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of the genial Mr. Farley, chairman of the Democratic National Committee, that there would be 150,000 jobs to be distributed among deserving Democrats, has stimulated the demand to an extraordinary extent.

My belief is that Mr. Farley, utterly unable to satisfy this demand, will deeply regret that announcement long before the New Year is out. I thought he was much too smart a politician to make a break like that. It would have been far wiser for him, now that the fight is over and his man in, to have explained to the hungry horde that, of course, there would not be jobs enough to go around, that the Civil Service law protects a good many Republican office holders, but that he proposes to do the very best he can to fill every available place with a Democrat. In that way he would have had some measure of protection. But to broadcast that there are 150,000 jobs waiting for the boys, when as a matter of fact there is nothing like that number, appears to me to be a piece of political stupidity. I do not recall a more injudicious invitation to trouble by a man supposed to be politically wise.

Washington. T. R. B.

Summer Seas and Islands

THE INTRODUCTION to Lauro De Bosis' collection, "The Golden Book of Italian Poetry,"[1] derives from Francesco De Sanctis's history of Italian literature, a source glorious enough to be sure. From De Sanctis, however, he has extracted a preface singularly fresh and his own, with a condensation that is remarkable. The essay is, also, highly indicative both of De Bosis' mind and, through the inspired nature of his choice, of the collection of Italian poetry that is to follow.

Taking the introduction part by part, we see what was in the mind of the editor, a poet himself; we see what his own conceptions were, and how he moves step by step toward the choice and position of the poems. Passing from the beginnings of Italian literature proper, as distinguished from the Roman and its last survivals, we come to the Sicilian School in the twelfth century, where, in poetry even, an Italian language was arising, and where we see the forcing of "the sensuality of the south into the channels of Nordic chivalry and into the formulas of the troubadour tradition." From that short, rich period we go north to Bologna and the great university, where "literature had for its background not the life of the court, but a popular society teeming with political passions. It was still bound by a conventional tradition such as makes poets theorize rather than sing." We move on, in a few lines, for such is De Bosis' power of finding what he wants, to Guido Cavalcanti, who "for us" is the man "who first in Italy sang with such spontaneity and such passion that everything was resolved into pure lyric images." After that we have Dante, towering above all. "In him the most complex of doctrines is resolved into the most spontaneous of visions, the highest pitch of passion is graven in the most precise and sculptural of forms." If there is any defect in him, "it lies in the fact that his logical structure is so strong that he often fails to merge it into pure lyricism." Afterward comes that dismissal of the Middle Ages, a cancellation of ten centuries of history, men bent on merging themselves in the atmosphere of the classics and the classic view of life. Petrarch arises out of that movement. Dante, starting from Beatrice, had embraced the whole universe; Petrarch compressed his universe in Laura. We have thus the approach to the cosmos through introspection, the key to the universe through man's heart, and Petrarch as the first of the moderns. To Petrarch's friend, Boccaccio, "only concrete things are real, only this beautiful world of ours has importance. He does not reject the other, being too indifferent to it to do so." Thus religion is not denied, for that would still imply some interest, but it is discarded from actual life and its place is taken by art, the religion of the Renaissance.

Presently in the fifteenth century we see the amazing intensity of this reaction from the Middle Ages, the lure of the New World, the search for antiquity, a period not so much of the search for a resurrection of antiquity but an independent outburst of spiritual forces that wore the mask of antiquity, deforming both itself and the mask. With this went the abandonment of the earlier period with its "originality and moral vigor"; even the Italian language was subordinated to Latin and has never entirely "recovered from the grandiloquence forced upon it by the mother tongue." What a critical perception that is with regard to the country De Bosis loved so well, what a curious recognition it is of that distorted impression that Italian utterances today are apt to make upon northern races! We have the revealing sentence about Machiavelli's having been the first to see that in science the question of morality arises only when action is taken; he was the first to recognize that the great moving force of history is not transcendent Providence but human will.

Later comes De Bosis' remark that Petrarchism became little more than technique and rhetoric when cut off from its emotional sources, and the statement about Tasso blowing the epic bugle but singing only the languor and ecstasy of his voluptuous soul. We have then the seventeenth century and the results it showed of social and moral servitude in literature, and such poets as Tassoni, who did not achieve a new art, as Cervantes did, because they had no new world to set up against the old one. The Inquisition burned Giordano Bruno at the stake, and in the course of things turned science toward such work as Galileo's, who opened the gates to the experimental method and to modern astronomy and physics. In time the great Vico appears, with two centuries of philosophic thought implied in his writings, writings in which philosophy reveals itself as history, not mad chance but philosophy in action, with its own logic. Then we have Metastasio, meaning to be tragic and ending as melodrama, very gifted, adored by all Europe, even Monsieur Voltaire and the throbbing Rousseau; Parini, in whom "the man educated the poet toward a new art," Alfieri, "the artist overshadowed by the patriot," and Foscolo, expressing the religious sense "of the dead and the living in a noble vision of man toiling in a world without God and without immortality, but in which no effort is lost, as all the past lives in the present." Later we come to Carducci, thundering from his professor's chair in Bologna, the leader of Italian culture for a generation; attacking the softness of the prose age, that middle of the nineteenth cen-

[1] The Golden Book of Italian Poetry, chosen and edited by Lauro De Bosis. New York: Oxford University Press. 254 pages. $2.50.

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tury, by his conjuration of the great images of Italian history.

But before Carducci, De Bosis speaks of Leopardi, about whom he says the best thing in the whole essay, this time forgetting De Sanctis almost and far surpassing what De Sanctis says of this poet. To De Bosis—and if I may add to me, for I think Leopardi the greatest quality in all the modern poets I know—he is one of the great triad of Italian poetry. "Leopardi's poetry presupposes deep meditation and violent emotion, but both are entirely merged in the serene lucidity of poetical vision. After a desolate childhood and a desperate youth, Leopardi's cold reason had destroyed every ideal, every faith and every hope, but the stern virility of his pessimism and the humanity of his regret make one love the things he denies more than if he had exalted them. His despair stimulates our sense of life more than any hymn of joy."

It will be seen, I hope, that it is by the nature of these citations that the editor's own essence will appear. We get also from the book a kind of conviction that De Bosis has included no poem for reasons differing from himself; which means that the perfunctory does not enter into his choice and that the character and sequence of the poems as they come are expressive of himself as well as of the Italian poetry of which he is a part.

One of the distinctive, and really quite natural, characteristics of this anthology is the passing up of any academic notion of both complete and representative poems. This leads to the inclusion of some of the finest lyric poetry anywhere, Dante in particular, out of whom is chosen such passages as the Francesca from the "Inferno," Fifth Canto, or the Ugolino episode, which are among the glories of the world. Passages out of Boiardo, Tasso, Ariosto are in the same way singled out. It is clear, I think, and Dante confirmed me long ago in this, that exactitude is the passion of poetry, as exaltation and remoteness are its dream. The anthology begins with St. Francis' "Laudes Creaturarum," goes through Lorenzo de Medici, Politian, Michelangelo, Chiabrera, Manzoni, Berchet, Foscolo, Adolfo De Bosis, the editor's father, and forty-two others, and comes to an end with "La Più Bella!" of Guido Gozzano, who died in 1916. This book is rare among its kind, because of the character directly back of it. It glows with De Bosis' own mind and quality. A school edition is announced to appear shortly, an edition with notes. For school usage it should be ideal. What young students of any poetry need is not only, and not always, the significantly eclectic or the safely academic; they need also that propulsion of a human being behind the collection, the guiding force in the choices made, the sense of some passion by which the remembrance of the poems is made necessary. The taste in these choices of poems is instinctive, a matter of fine inheritance, culture and habit; it is also capable of self-analysis and of passion for a verity and character in life. An anthology may be both a collection and in itelf a work of art, a form of life. I can think of no anthology better suited than this is for students in whom the hunger for life and the weight of life's pressure and beauty had not yet been killed. They can realize from the study of this book that art is a form of life heightened into its own delight and destruction—to borrow Leopardi's phrase in another connection—and they can sense these poems both as a part each one of something larger and also as a part of the collector's spirit.

The great gift of Lauro De Bosis was the power to find an image for himself, his relation to art, politics, science and the delight in knowledge and living, so strong in him. The implication politically of his flight over Rome, the dropping of the anti-Fascist pamphlets and so on, are not the point here. It is that this act, so close to his own poetic drama of Icarus, summed up most of his idea of poetry, life and racial politics, and gave it a body. In this collection, also, he has created an image for himself.

The Far Bermoothes

"Geography without historye seemeth a carkasse without motion, so historye without geography wandreth as a vagrant without certain habitation." That sentence from the "General Historie of Virginia, New England and the Summer Islands" is shrewdly quoted by Mr. Hudson Strode in his Bermuda book.[2] In "The Story of Bermuda" he brings these islands so quietly and surely up, out of the bright sea around them, with their farness from all continents and their both even and tempestuous mingling of winds, rocks and verdure, that the oddity, fierceness and slow ease of their history seems to rest naturally upon them. The lay-out and character of Bermuda come off perfectly. But the historical, with its sense of shooting forward as soon as man is there, is the best part of the book. In a map in Peter Martyr's edition of "Legatio Babylonica," 1511, *la bermuda* appears, named for its Spanish discoverer, Juan de Bermudez. The first arrivals, leaving hogs "for increase," the notion of the islands as inhabited by evil spirits, the Spanish plans for colonization in the sixteenth century, Henry May's account of Bermuda, London, 1594, and so on, Mr. Strode records all that, and the years and centuries following: the English occupation, the company grants, the governors, the witch burnings, the sympathy during the American colonists' revolt, the relations with Washington, the drop in prosperity when Britain forbade all dealing with the new government in America, and the turn, advisedly, to privateering and the—less delicate—piracies of the era, though it would have been hard very often to distinguish between the two professions, so charmingly similar were their rewards. There were bad years again, and then, with the War between the States and English sympathy for the South, some fortunate blockade running; then with American peace again came more depression in Bermuda, until finally the tourists began, some famous men, some wanderers and commercial lotus-eaters—or eaters of commercial lotus—and we arrive at the year of our Lord, something like yesterday, no automobiles as yet allowed, but in one twelvemonth 70,000 Americans. Nobody could say that the ancient wild hogs are not beaten back forever now, or that the evil spirits are not dispersed. Mr. Strode's history includes Bermuda's place in literature, its relation to "The Tempest" and to the poems of Waller and Andrew Marvel, its years as Tom Moore's lyric habitation, and the harbor it has given in later generations to diverse authors and artists, whom it had either ignorance enough to ignore or strength and substance enough to resist.

[2] The Story of Bermuda, by Hudson Strode. New York: Harrison Smith and Robert Haas. 374 pages. $5.

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The book and not here is the place for the trees, fish and flowers, gardens, houses and characters that are written of, most of all for the seemingly simple but remarkably exact conveyance of what the fauna and flora are and where they came from or present themselves, now on this part of the islands, now on another, now brought back from voyages over the whole world, now native, now a portion of the household loves.

The tact of the book consists in the style and in the lack of any sense of forcing. There is none of the usual heightening of color and vegetation to exotic tropicality, and there is none of that effort toward an exclusive effect, remarkable ancient families, et cetera, sitting behind hedges keeping out the intruder. Mr. Strode thus avoids that bane of travel articles and books, among us especially, when steamships and magazines collaborate: the impression of vulgarity. He bases his persuasion not on sharpening the novelty of his matter or putting specious edges on what remains gentle and to be loved by acquaintance; his persuasion is through the tone of his style and through happy phrases.

The same tact or, if you like, character of mind and artistic instinct, has kept Mr. Strode from listing in the manner of guide books endless impotent places to go. He gives you the sense of Bermuda as not so much a matter of doing as of being; which after all must be its essence, if it has any truth at all, there in its lovely twilights and bright beaches and chances for talk or wandering alone. Curiously and subtly this book answers the intelligent instead of provoking the dull, whom never for an instant does it force to seek where they were never born to inquire.

Mechanically we may note of this book on Bermuda that it has seventy-five illustrations, an excellent bibliography and a binding in a new finish, opalescent like a seashell.

STARK YOUNG.

Roxy and His Patron

RADIO CITY" (alias Rockefeller Center, alias Metropolitan Square) has at last revealed its first fruits. The Radio City Music Hall (6,200 seats) and R-K-O Roxy Theatre (3,700 seats) have been opened with all the customary hullabaloo, with microphones, movie cameras and spotlights. There were, according to the official press agents, 100,000 applications for tickets to the first night of the larger of these enterprises; but since at the third performance there were scores of unsold places in the orchestra, it seems probable that many of these 100,000 were more anxious to see each other than the show.

Architecturally, these two theatres are a success, if you think of how bad they might have been and not of their unrealized potentialities. They are done in mildly modern style, with every impulse toward the flamboyant sternly suppressed. Gone are the days of the Manhattan Paramount's exhibition of gilt and red plush. The house with the 6,200 seats is inevitably a little reminiscent of the Grand Central Terminal, though the architects have done their best to keep its huge size from being formidable. A number of artists have contributed to the result, some of them with genuine effectiveness, though the mere size of the place detracts from the importance of their work. Gadget-loving Americans will note the curtain with its thirteen electric motors, the orchestra elevator which not only sinks but moves backward under the stage and there rises again, the loud-speaker system broadcasting the whole performance into all the dressing rooms, the program light on the back of every seat, the ceiling stuck full of concealed lamps which can be changed to suit the mood of the scene; and so on.

But it is not enough that a theatre shall be handsome and full of mechanical tricks for the benefit of the customers; it must also offer those customers entertainment for which they are willing to pay. It is taken for granted among the wiseacres of Broadway that both these houses are likely to be commercial failures. The motion-picture palace, once its novelty has worn off, will have to depend on the quality of its films, and it will have only R-K-O to draw upon. There simply aren't enough good films to go around, in New York; that was what caused the failure of the "old" Roxy, at Seventh Avenue and Fiftieth Street. The new one is, furthermore, in an awkward location for most New Yorkers, accessible only to the Sixth Avenue El.

As for the Music Hall, its doom seems to be writ large upon it. Every critic has commented on the dullness of its opening bill, on which money was poured out until the operating expense is stated to be about $100,000 a week. The managing director of both these theatres is Mr. S. L. Rothafel, who chooses to call himself "Roxy." He is best known for his love of "light classical" music, for his appalling sentimentality and his almost complete lack of humor. He has assembled for the opening program a job lot of vaudeville turns which, however, do not add up into a vaudeville program, and they bored the first few audiences stiff. The net effect was of a series of movie "prologues," one following the other. After all, Roxy has no means of knowing that the patrons who used to come to his various movie theatres were panting to see his Roxyettes and only endured the motion picture. Perhaps it was the other way round. Something drastic, then, must be done to prevent the Music Hall from being a costly failure. Either it must be turned over to the films, or a new type of spectacle must be devised for it. Possibly a modernized verion of the old Hippodrome entertainments might be worked out or (with the microphone problem solved) the Metropolitan Opera might take it over.

With the opening of these two theatres, the doubts as to Radio City as a whole, which thoughtful critics have been expressing ever since it was announced, become stronger than ever. It is still possible that the project in its entirety may be a financial success; its group of skyscrapers will offer facilities to business firms not to be found elsewhere; and if the so-called prosperity of 1929 (which was of course a state of fever and not of health) can be brought back for a few years, the Rockefellers may be able to amortize their investment. But we are confident that the desire to make money did not lie behind the creation of Radio City. John D. Rockefeller, Jr., wanted to leave behind him a monument; he thought of himself as a modern member of the Medici, and there is no doubt that among his chief impulses was the wish to do something for New York. And hasn't he just! It would be unfair to say that he has sent into bankruptcy most office buildings within half a mile in every direction, for probably most of them would have gone bankrupt in

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any case. But certainly he has violated every principle of city planning. He has made far more serious a traffic problem which was already one of the worst in the world. His addition to the skyline can only be described as more of something of which we already have too much; it has its elements of beauty but any sensible person must be saddened by the thought of the terrific cost to the community by which they are achieved. His architectural jamboree is the harder to understand since in the recent past he has done such notable work, under the guidance of Andrew J. Thomas, in developing another type of building —low-priced apartment houses for the occupancy of the poor.

It hardly needs to be pointed out that Radio City is typical not only of the anarchy of modern capitalistic society, but of America in particular. Capitalism exists elsewhere, but there is not a city in Europe where Mr. Rockefeller would be permitted to build his monument, or would have, any time this past fifty years. If I am right in believing that in the future the world will not allow the creation of such vast fortunes as Rockefeller, Sr., accumulated, and that it certainly will not tolerate such a piece of gargantuan exhibitionism as Radio City, then perhaps it is just as well to have one such monument to the follies of a past age, as a reminder and warning. . . . At least, for a few years.

B. B.

An American Show

IN PRESENTING the First Biennial Exhibition of Contemporary American Painting the Whitney Museum of American Art is following a precedent established by almost every important art museum in the United States of holding annually large and important exhibitions of American Art. An increasingly liberal spirit has broadened the scope of these exhibitions so that in recent years they have assumed greater importance to both artist and public."

So runs the first paragraph of the foreword to the current Whitney Museum catalogue. Mrs. Juliana Force, director of the Museum, has not overstated her case. It is obvious that the responsibilities of the Museum weigh heavily across its shoulders; within these walls on Eighth Street lies the seed of a genuinely American academy of painting, the American Academy of the future.

Enter the building and the first impression is that of general movement and excitement. Here are one hundred and fifty-seven contemporaries in a row, across wide halls, up two flights of stairs and down again; a little of everything for everyone, an omnibus anthology of painting. What do you lack? Childe Hassam or Stuart Davis, or anything between? All here; count them again. The reaction to the first impact has already set in and a sense of depression follows. One becomes querulous and impatient at compromises, at semi-failures, at the necessity of hanging an inferior John Sloan or Kopman's elaborately naïve but huge allegory of barefooted man, benign lion and sympathetic lamb. Even the healthy satire of Grant Wood's "Daughters of Revolution" seems misplaced.

Much of the energy of the exhibition has been spent in reasserting the platitude of "vitality" in American painting. Such, I would say, is a good three-quarters of the purpose behind this show, a purpose that has been extended even further by allowing each artist to select his own canvas for hanging on its walls.

It is the technician, not the promising vitalist, who saves the show from failure. A few of the names are already well established: Edward Hopper, Charles Sheeler, Arthur G. Dove, Kuniyoshi, Morris Kantor, Marsden Hartley, Ernest Fiene and Peter Blume.

Sheeler's "Americana," a sunroom interior, may be placed among his best work. The scene is shot from overhead, a skillful application of movie-camera technique in design; the sharp, clear lines accelerating speed and light where each brilliant element of color is defined in concrete terms. From Sheeler it is a short step to Hopper's "Room in New York," a perfectly timed staccato of light and shade. Again one has a sense of a rotating movie camera: a "still" this time of two figures, a man and a woman, behind the plate-glass window of an apartment building. Here is American atmosphere, American emptiness in the harsh glare of an electric lamp, clean, wrapped in cellophane and labeled New York.

Peter Blume's ironic "Light of the World" is the best example we have of a Surrealist influence upon contemporary American painting. The connotations of the title are those of a sweet-faced Christ knocking at the door. But here is a dynamo encased in glass spouting from classic cornices of stone. To the left is a church, to the right a summerhouse. Grouped round the spiring crystal globe are four figures in modern dress, all in varying attitudes of adoration, piety, bewilderment and fear. The precision in painting reminds one of the early Flemish schools; there is an exact placement of each brick in the church tower and the color values, though subtle in shading, produce a conviction of vigor behind them, a strength that is the property of a mature painter. Like Dove's impressive "Red Barge," the canvas must be seen to be appreciated. Arnold Wiltz's "Reconstruction," Francis Criss's "Astor Square" and Karl Free's "Repast with Visitor" are all evidences of the Surrealist invasion, but in none of these do we find the process of assimilation shown in the work of Peter Blume.

Aside from Marsden Hartley's still life, Dove's "Red Barge," Ernest Fiene's "Nocturne-34th St." and others that I have treated in detail, the exhibit loses coherent value. Walt Kuhn's "Top Man" is neat but lacks the final touch of brilliance to make it memorable. Alexander Brook and Arnold Blanch, both able painters, have nothing new to say. The post-Renoir realism of Kenneth Hays Miller displays again the flesh tones of the butcher shop and what may be interpreted as animal vitality is merely dull.

For all the promise that the Whitney First Biennial holds, it suffers from a too literal adoption of a liberal policy, quite as though its sponsors were determined to please everyone: artists, public, critics, patrons, dealers. The time for groping is already in the past. And among the younger painters there is a growing respect for able drawing and technical adroitness. The "increasingly liberal spirit," though vaguely inspiring, is a state of mind where underbrush, dead wood and rootless trees obscure the forest. It is a place where standards and principles are lost in trivial varieties of expression.

HORACE GREGORY.

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A COMMUNICATION

In Defense of Technocracy

SIR: With reference to Mr. Soule's article on Technocracy in The New Republic of December 28.

It is an accepted, and notoriously inconclusive, device of critical procedure to dismiss as unimportant any contribution to human thought which can be shown not to be new in selected details. Technocracy's failure to achieve novelty in the Promethean sense implicit in Mr. Soule's attitude was shared also by the Copernican theory, the Mechanics of Galileo, Newton's three laws of motion, Dalton's atomic theory, Darwinian evolution, Watt's steam engine, and certain famous experiments conducted by Michael Faraday with the help of such ancient facts of the physical world as the magnet and the element copper. Current appreciation of these and equally derivative achievements of the human mind appears not to be thereby seriously impaired. The reflective will conclude that what is vital in any configuration of ideas is not the novelty of its component elements but the *manner* of their arrangement; the originality, courage and intellectual power revealed in discovering hitherto unsuspected relationships between things individual familiarity with which had long bred indifference, if not contempt.

The extensive publicity accorded the work of Howard Scott and his associates in Technocracy has not favored a clear presentation and understanding of what underlies the too easily dramatized factual material assembled by the Energy Survey of North America. For this reason it is the more unfortunate that Mr. Soule, with his admitted opportunities for first-hand investigation and appraisal of Technocracy's aims, should have preferred the easy way of perfunctory journalism to those more exacting methods of responsible exposition which are reasonably to be expected from the editors of a journal professing to represent an enlightened public opinion.

May I, therefore, in the interests not of argument or controversy but simply of clarification, be permitted to say:

First, that Technocracy, as formulated by Howard Scott during the past twelve years, derives its basic principles from three of the most inescapable facts of the physical universe: Matter, Motion and Energy. These things, it will at once be noted, are far older than any of the "sources" from which Mr. Soule, in common with many others, imagines Technocracy to have appropriated its ideas. Add also the as yet uncontroverted fact that no "material system"—whether atom, insect, human being, planet or galaxy—can function, or be adequately studied, except in relation to one or another form of energy. The only valid treatment of energy phenomena thus far known being in terms of strict observation and quantitative measurement leading to rational control, it follows that the methods of the physical sciences are indicated for every instance where energy, in any determinate form, constitutes an element of the problem to be solved. The application of such methods to relevant *social* phenomena would not seem, on the face of it, unreasonable: indeed, those familiar with Frederick Soddy's book, "Wealth, Virtual Wealth and Debts," first published in 1926, will no doubt chuckle at a fresh example of Mr. Scott's industrious plagiarism: despite Professor Soddy's definite failure to anticipate any of the *essential* conclusions regarding money, debt, continental operation, energy determinants, etc., on which alone the principle and methods of Technocracy may be fairly judged.

Second, that the "familiar" fact of technological advance during the past century or more, by steadily augmenting the *mechanical* factors of society, has therefore, and to just that extent, transformed society (considered as a functional, *not* cultural) aggregate, into a special case of thermodynamics, to be analyzed and controlled accordingly. Technocracy points out, merely as a matter of inference from established facts, that if the social organism on this continent accomplishes 90 percent of its work by means of technologically applied *non*-human (and therefore physically determinable) energies, you are not going to proceed very far if those in control of such a delicately integrated organism insist on operating it in terms of the individualist, laissez-faire economics carried over from the 7,000 years when society jogged along in the "steady state" necessitated by its one dependable engine, the human being. The sufficiently tiresome fact of "technological unemployment" thus reduces to a charge of obsolescence brought against a machine which has the misfortune to be alive; and this charge is motivated primarily by the archaic ideals of rugged individualism and predatory exploit. All of which, to the shoulder-shrugging erudite, will seem but an echo of Thorstein Veblen: whose little volume on "Engineers and the Price System" (as clearly stated recently by Frederick L. Ackerman, a close friend of Veblen's and long an associate of Mr. Scott's) was written *as a result* of many long discussions with Scott twelve years ago.

Third, that a society so largely, and increasingly, implemented by extraneous physical energy can no longer be safely entrusted to the "interference control" of a price system (*not* capitalism) which measures wealth by the criteria of human labor and mere possession of physical things, and in terms of a fluctuating "value" medium, whether corn, cowrie shells, gold or negotiable paper. When a single dollar bill can, in the course, of a year, serve as "payment" for $100 or more of goods and services, we approach, on the social plane, to something dangerously like perpetual motion of the first class. Technocracy accordingly suggests that, *if* society continues to function on the basis of physical energies and their largely mechanical conversion into use-forms, the proper units for appraising such functions are those derived from the constants of quantitative measurement, not from incessantly fluctuating units of "value" which are not only allowed to accumulate indefinitely in non-serviceable forms, but which in the end prove physically inadequate to measure, operate or maintain a continual social mechanism whose actual wealth is beyond all possibility of computation except in terms of the energy it represents, and can release to the service of man. Thus it is not quite the fantasy it seems that Mr. Scott has elaborated his concept of "energy determinants," according to which individual income is measured on the basis of the individual's share of *extraneous physical energy,* expended in operating the social

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plant. At this point the learned will, as often before, triumphantly refer to Edward Bellamy's "Looking Backward," in which a superficially similar notion of non-monetary payments was developed.

I have not attempted in the above to do more than present what I conceive to be the salient aspects of Mr. Scott's thought, as it finds expression in Technocracy. It would be possible to expand on the subject considerably, and no doubt Mr. Soule will feel dissatisfaction with one or another of my statements, and reply accordingly. Nevertheless, I believe that he has presented Technocracy to his readers in a distorted, if not antagonistic, light, and thus justified the publication of a more sympathetic and—I can only hope—more exact account of an approach to social problems whose vitality and significance are not likely to be affected by deprecation, however emphatic, or diminished by time.

New York City. HAROLD WARD.

[Mr. Ward believes that the lack of novelty in the component ideas of a new view of affairs does not diminish the importance of that view; I agree. I yield to no one in emphasizing the importance of the ideas which Technocracy uses; my concern is merely to deflate its claim to total novelty and to assess the value of the way it puts these ideas together.

In view of Mr. Ward's desire to clarify the subject, he may be able to answer questions which I have not seen answered by any of Technocracy's spokesmen:

1. What is the distinction between the "price system" and capitalism? How can we get rid of one without getting rid of the other?

2. How are Mr. Scott's "energy determinants" to be used, not merely in laboratory measurements, but in the actual production and distribution of goods, services and income?

3. If what we must do is to substitute something better for the price system, how are we going to do it without using political instruments or class pressures? Has Technocracy any program or does it imply one, which is superior to, or as good as, Socialism, Communism or some other form of social planning?—GEORGE SOULE.]

CORRESPONDENCE

Roosevelt and Relief

SIR: I am enclosing a copy of a letter sent by Louis Waldman and myself jointly to Governor Roosevelt urging him to enable the legislature to take up the matter of unemployment relief in New York State. Copies of this letter were given out to the press in New York City for release twenty-four hours after the letter had reached the Governor. So far as I know not a single paper carried any reference whatever to the letter. . . . Governor and President-elect Roosevelt summoned in an hour of crisis a special session of the legislature and then did not enable it to deal with the vital matter of unemployment. As we pointed out to him in terms which neither he, Mr. Harry Hopkins, the head of the state's relief organization, nor any of the legislators whom we approached denied, the present limitations on the expenditure of state unemployment relief make it almost certain that only about half the minimum amount necessary for elementary needs will be available in the state of New York this winter. The regular session of the legislature can scarcely act in time to meet the situation. By the time Governor Roosevelt becomes President Roosevelt, the situation will be so grave that it will constitute an imperative national emergency in which the federal government must take the initiative.

New York City. NORMAN THOMAS.

[ENCLOSURE]

Dear Governor Roosevelt:

Just before the special session of the legislature began you graciously received, on a busy day, a committee headed by us. Among other things, we urged upon you the desperate importance of enabling the legislature to reconsider the problem of unemployment relief with a view to removing the restrictions which now make it impossible to spend funds already voted as rapidly and as amply as need requires. We understood you to admit in general the facts; first, that the minimum amount necessary for what might be called subsistence relief in New York State was $10,000,000 [a month], which must come from public sources. This is exclusive of any amount raised or to be raised from private sources. Second, that this $10,000,000 a month, in the case of most of the larger cities at least, must come in increasing proportion from the state, since the cities' budget and taxation problems and the demands of the bankers make it increasingly difficult for them to raise funds. Third, that while under the present restrictions the amount already made available for the state by the adoption of the bond issue would last until May, or perhaps longer, at the minimum rate which the emergency requires it can only last until March.

Since our conversation you have not made any recommendations to the legislature which open this question. Yet the evidence of crisis steadily grows. Between March and September of this year public relief in the state of New York declined in round numbers from $7,000,000 to $5,000,000 a month. The families waiting for work relief outside of New York City in September totaled 91,000, all of whom had been approved for relief after rigorous investigation but for whom nothing was available. In New York City, all welfare authorities have agreed that there is a minimum of 60,000 families who desperately need relief but who are not getting it. The privately financed Emergency Work Bureau reports 32,000 applications for work. If their campaign succeeds in raising the sum of $15,000,000 which they have set, they cannot at the most take care of more than 5,000 in addition to those they now carry—5,000, that is, out of 32,000 already registered. It is well known to you that those families which receive relief are getting less than is required by the lowest standards for healthy existence. Home relief in New York State in September averaged about nineteen cents per person per day, and that nineteen cents had to cover everything.

The situation grows steadily worse. Employment fell in New York City 3 percent in November. Employment in New York State fell one percent in November, but wages dropped 4 percent. We are not drifting out of depression. Meanwhile no budget reforms will enable New York City or other large cities to obtain the necessary funds. Every week's delay under these circumstances means more tragedy. . . .

We address you now not merely as Governor of the state who has power to enable the legislature to take up the present crisis. We address you as President-elect of the United States. Even more strongly than when we talked with you, we are persuaded that economic, legal and constitutional limitations on state power make it imperative for the federal government as soon as you take office to assume major responsibility for unemployment relief. We must act as we would act in a major war. The federal government must lead the way. In the expectation of such action which you have power to initiate is it not reasonable to use funds now available in the state of New York to provide adequate relief until the middle of March? The restriction upon state aid which

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requires cities and counties first to raise relief funds in the hope of being reimbursed to the extent of 40 percent is most unwise and dangerous at the present time.

In view of these facts, we insist that this session of the legislature must give power to state relief authorities to give directly on the basis of need. . . . We do not minimize the importance of balanced budgets in their place when we say that they do not compare in urgency with this need which we are presenting to you.

NORMAN THOMAS,
LOUIS WALDMAN.

New York City.

A Convention of Unemployed Workers' Leagues

SIR: In his article entitled "Organizing Hunger," in The New Republic of December 14, Nathaniel Weyl fails to mention the conference of unemployed organizations which was held in Chicago, November 19 and 20. If Mr. Weyl is sincerely interested in the economic significance of the organizations of unemployed that are springing up so rapidly all over the country, he should certainly be informed of this conference, which, so far as I know, is the first step towards a national organization. Here was formed the Federation of Unemployed Workers' Leagues of America, and an executive committee was chosen to guide the activities of the local organizations which were represented and those which will later become affiliated with the Federation. Ohio, Missouri, Illinois, Michigan and Iowa were among the states represented. Calls were sent out only to Middle Western organizations.

As an organizer for the Socialist party in Iowa during the recent campaign, I was particularly interested in the response from unemployed organizations in Iowa, and I was disappointed to find that Des Moines, which is the only Iowa city mentioned in Mr. Weyl's article, had no representatives there, while Burlington, a city of about 26,000, sent a delegation.

EDWARD L. JOHNSON.

New Orleans, La.

Miss Dudley Defended

SIR: This letter, let me state at the outset, is indubitably a leaf from friendship's garland. Were Dorothy Dudley not my friend, I should not trouble to take exception to Mr. Granville Hicks' review of her book, "Forgotten Frontiers," in the December 14 issue of your journal. Notable examples of condescension are commonly found in reviews, in journals of opinion and elsewhere. One cannot resent them all. There isn't the energy, or the time.

As a friend, as a critic, I center my indignation on the only too obvious tone of Mr. Hicks' review. From beginning to end, it is written in a vein of trifling and undetached snobbery, which reaches its climax in the deplorable sentence (imbedded in a passage that, to damn it justly, should be quoted in full): "Miss Dudley reminded him [Dreiser]—she would!—that only a change of heart mattered." Mr. Hicks, in his previous remarks, has built up no logical foundation for that adolescent "she would!" Logical foundation or no, this smart interjection has no place outside flip and fashionable criticism, to which, I am certain, your journal gives no ear.

To pass from a defense of critical standards to a refutation of Mr. Hicks: his statement, "Miss Dudley talks a great deal about elegance of mind and laments the exclusion of American writers from high society," is inexact and ingenuous; his statement, "her style has all of Dreiser's verbosity and bad taste without his honesty," is untrue. I agree with Mr. Hicks' remark that Miss Dudley has tried to make her book a study of American life in the past four decades. Gratuitously to inject my own personal opinion into the matter still further, I believe that Miss Dudley has not only tried, but has succeeded, in writing a spirited and full account of life in the United States, as it went on in articulate and semi-articulate circles, during the four oddest decades in the history of the western world. She has put down the manners and customs, the insanities and pretensions of a time so recent and so confused in its values that it is a feat to assemble material that bears on it, let alone to project that material with zest and insight. Miss Dudley has recorded the period with documentary zeal; she has, moreover, recorded the triumphs and defeats of Mr. Dreiser, a writer of the time, who was faced, as no one else was faced, at the beginning and throughout his career in American letters, with every obstacle a peculiar, amorphous and unconscious society can produce.

Miss Dudley's book regrettably lacks an index. If it had one, the variety and scope of her research would be apparent, to the most casual reviewer. Her thesis, so completely missed by Mr. Hicks, could not, of course, be catalogued, for the convenience of the running eye. She does not lament the exclusion of the American writer from "high society." She deprecates, in no uncertain terms, the exclusion of everyone in the United States from life itself: from the purpose, color and vitality that is the birthright of persons born into a mature and civilized environment. Whatever the book's faults, it is not to be dismissed by a wave of a reviewer's hand. And I have yet to see a volume in print that deserves a reviewer's sneer.

LOUISE BOGAN.

New York City.

Hunger Marchers and the Police

SIR: Why should Malcolm Cowley in his article on the Hunger March [The New Republic, December 21] feel impelled to go so far afield in the effort to explain the savage and provocative conduct of the Washington police towards the delegates of the unemployed? Why should he conclude that the "Anglo-Saxon mind" of these policemen provides an explanation that is "deeper than the political explanation"? Why regard so-called psychological explanations as more profound than political? . . . The result is that the fundamental is substituted for and replaced by the superficial.

The significance of the attitude of the police towards the Hunger Marchers is that this is an expression of the ruthlessness with which the ruling class seeks to suppress every form of effective protest against its hunger program and the economic system which breeds hunger and want amidst riches.

Repression and intimidation of the masses is an essential part of this program and policy. The ruling class was determined that such actions as the mass march upon Washington shall be finally "discouraged" and ended. To this end it undertook to mobilize its state apparatus. Since this apparatus is manned by persons who because of origin may feel a kinship to those whom they are required to beat, shoot, maim and kill, it is necessary to make sure that the soldiers and police are free of any possible qualms of conscience.

The use of propaganda as a means of incitement and of thus strengthening "morale" is by no means uncommon. It is an integral part of modern military strategy. Naturally the propaganda of the ruling class would be based upon the previously injected prejudices of the subjects.

The above will, I am sure, serve to indicate that:

1. The police are not reacting independently to a peculiar Anglo-Saxon psychosis. There was no mutiny among the police against their superior officers, on the contrary, their every act was a regimented response to and execution of a calculated plan and policy (including the seeming insubordination).

2. Therefore, not the policemen of Washington, but their superior officers and in turn the responsible heads of the United States government, were responsible for every offense, abuse and injury suffered by the Hunger Marchers.

3. The fear and desperate efforts of the ruling class to prevent such mass actions as the National Hunger March grow out of a realization of the potential power and effectiveness of such actions. This provides an additional answer to those who are so eager to convince us that such actions are futile. . . .

HERBERT BENJAMIN,
National Secretary, Unemployed Councils of U. S. A.

New York City.

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Work or Profits?

Profits or Prosperity? by Henry Pratt Fairchild. New York: Harper and Brothers. 211 pages. $2.75.

THE MAJOR thesis of this excellent book might be called a modern and simplified version of Karl Marx's theory of surplus value. It can be found in the following four sentences quoted from the book: "A part of the product is sold for an amount equal to the total cost of production. The remaining portion of the product may be made a source of profit. But how, and to what extent? That is the nub of the whole problem."

Treating interest on borrowed money and rent on land as costs of production, along with wages, Professor Fairchild confines his criticism of profits mainly to the residual return received by the business man whom the professional economists often call the enterpriser. Having thus defined profits, Professor Fairchild develops a conclusion which is of capital importance, though little recognized in current discussions. "Under a system of individual ownership of businesses, operated competitively, general profits must always be limited to the capacity of the owner to consume. The persistent attempt to divert an unregulated portion of the possible profits into an enlargement of the production plant—that is, to invest it—is socially destructive."

What can be done with what Professor Fairchild terms profits? (Marx called it surplus value. When taken collectively, it may be thought of quite simply as the net savings of the community.) Before outlining the three correct answers developed with great lucidity by Professor Fairchild, I should like to make, somewhat parenthetically, the following point which his analysis seems to miss: The savings of workers, as well as of rich capitalists, may be tainted with all the crimes and errors of capitalism. Specifically, the savings of workers, entrusted to banks or insurance companies for investment, may, along with the capitalist's unearned savings, be hoarded or invested in properties supposed to compound more profits or surplus value. Professor Fairchild's analysis is a little too simple at this point, but he is dead right in saying that one of the following three things must be done with profits:

1. The receivers of profits may consume them, in which case there is absolutely no problem. Purchasing power for one part of the output is released through the payment of wages, interest and rent. Purchasing power for the other part of the output, or what Professor Fairchild calls profits, is later spent by the receivers of such profits.

2. Consumers may be lent by the accumulating class enough money to purchase and consume the profits surplus. But this course cannot be followed for any length of time because of the obvious workings of compound interest.

3. The surplus value, profits or net savings of the community may be continuously converted into more productive plant. This has been the classical solution, which worked as long as the industrial revolution continued and frontier countries offered free land for development.

The fallacy of any continuous reinvestment of a surplus with a view to more accumulation is that it makes production grow in geometrical progression and consumption, regulated largely by wage payments, grow in arithmetical progression. It must, therefore, happen sooner or later (when the industrial revolution is over and the free lands are settled) that there are goods without buyers.

Professor Fairchild has doubtless thought to simplify his presentation of the Marxian thesis by leaving out much of the mathematical or mechanical exposition of the impossibility of a capitalistic system in perpetual expansion. Instead he argues the need of more leisure, which is, perhaps, sound enough, and the satiability of human wants, which he does not prove. What he really proves is that misguided rich people prefer additional securities to additional yachts or memorials named after them. But, had they foreseen what is now happening to their investments, capitalists might have preferred during the fat years to invest their surplus in more consumption or memorials to their generosity. Had they done so, savings would not have outrun investment in 1929, and we should not have suffered a depression characterized by insufficient consumption and falling prices. But had rich capitalists preferred more personal consumption and memorials to further accumulation, they would not have been capitalists of the Manchesterian school, though they might have been great gentlemen entirely loyal to an aristocratic ideal or to feudalistic or seigneurial traditions.

The "Fallacy of Profits," which is made the subject of an interesting chapter, must, according to the fundamental analysis, be the fallacy of any attempt, over a long period, to compound the money value of net savings. And the fallacy is the same for the savings of factory workers as for the profits of the Insulls and Kreugers. After developing a line of sound Marxian criticism, which finds abundant support in present events, Professor Fairchild wanders off into much irrelevant and dubious criticism of business men and speculation. These wanderings from good, sound, destructive criticism lead him to propose a system of state ownership of business or enterprise combined with private ownership of land and capital. Now, little argument is needed to prove that profits or any sort of return on capital without risk-bearing or management of enterprise would be an absurdity. Moreover, the original capitalistic problem of preventing an attempt to compound savings would remain.

A careful reading of Professor Fairchild's analysis indicates two choices for the industrial nations: The state may take over business and make an end of private ownership as well as private enterprise (for his idea of private ownership of land and capital and public management of production seems altogether impossible). Or, the state, for a time at least, may go on allowing private ownership and management of business, with constant state interference to ensure a sufficiency of spending or consumption. The question, What shall public money be spent for? is unimportant as compared with the primary need of spending enough to put everyone to work. Any public expenditure would be desirable that was not productive of profit. Our supplies of food and raw materials are abundant. Necessary replacements are being made. It is only important as a matter of taste whether the output of our twelve millions of now unemployed shall go into model homes for the poor, monumental mausoleums for the rich or more skyscrapers to stand empty. Investors will not build more skyscrapers or factories to stand idle. So, practically speaking, capital investment is definitely out. Nor will the rich build mausoleums for themselves or non-profit-yielding homes for the poor. Consequently, ostentatious and eleemosynary spending, as well as new investment, may be considered as out of the question.

Most humane people will naturally prefer better, though profitless, homes for the poor to mausoleums for the rich. But putting the twelve million unemployed to work at a living wage producing anything whatsoever is preferable to leaving them workless and wageless while foodstuffs, raw materials and manufactured

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goods they might consume go to waste for want of buyers.

The choice is not really "Profits or Prosperity," as Professor Fairchild writes, but "profits or work." Profitless expenditures are needed to create work and to call forth production essential to a higher standard of living. Any such wholesale creation of employment by state spending as is needed to restore the 1929 level of activity, would involve a redistribution of the ownership of the nation's wealth through the mechanics of taxation. Such a restoration of economic life would not be called prosperity by the rich. Rather than take a sure tax increase and allowing wealth to be redistributed under an adequate plan of state-generated activity, they prefer to run the eventual risk of being pauperized by the current process of deflation. They still believe that prosperity is just around the corner and that, in some way no one can explain, the old flow of income will resume. We shall see. In the meantime the unemployed will go on starving and many of us will go on writing books about it. LAWRENCE DENNIS.

Expressionist History

A Cultural History of the Modern Age, Vol. III, by Egon Friedell. New York: Alfred A. Knopf. 545 pages. $5.

THE TRANSLATION of the third volume of Egon Friedell's "A Cultural History of the Modern Age" has now come out. This brilliant work, full of phosphorescent lights and will-o'-the-wisp intuitions at the beginning, ends in a grand mélange of geomancy and astrology and spiritualism. According to Friedell, the modern age has come to an end, and a new one, full of dark yearnings and incomprehensible desires, has suddenly been born.

That such a work could have appeared in our time is certainly a symptom: that it could have been hailed as an important book by various sage and circumspect minds, for whose judgment I have usually the profoundest respect, is a matter that calls for careful diagnosis. For one watches the progress of Friedell's ideas, from the first volume to the last, as one might watch the progress of a disease, in which a high temperature gave the appearance of health, in which paralysis produced the effect of serenity and composure, and in which a painful paroxysm bequeathed to the mouth a delusive smile.

Friedell's monumental discourse has, indeed, many of the outward marks of great history; but essentially it is a loose farrago of dogma, incident, conjecture and prejudice, in which the facts are often as frivolously subjectified as the interpretation. Why, then, has the book been so well received?

Well, to begin with, there is the matter of style. Friedell's history is written in the fashion of a preface by Bernard Shaw: the manner is personal and polemic, with thrusts and jibes and darts of repartee: the story unfolds itself melodramatically: it has the excitement of a childhood ride in a scenic railway. One cannot compare Friedell with Taine, whose studies of England, the Netherlands and Greece had all the virtues Friedell can boast, plus a clarity and a conscience that are lacking in the later writer; but compared with the tasteless efforts of the "scientific historian," who forgets that he is a man talking about men, Friedell's style and method provide a happy relief. Moreover, he is a wide reader and has an eye for a good story. One willingly wades through fifty pages to find, for example, the quotation from a German professor who said that electricity and magnetism were two terms whereby a person who knew nothing whatever about electricity and magnetism could explain anything in the world.

The second virtue of Friedell's history is that he is dealing with the human mind and its manifestations in art, science, ritual, ethics, philosophy, statecraft, war. In contrast, the old-fashioned historian, who is still tempted to give more weight to affairs of state than to other manifestations of life, deprives himself of the better part of the materials of history, leaving whole tracts of it to specialists—or to complete neglect. Friedell attempts to plumb the myths and social impulses of each age as well as to display its fashions in thought and dress; he describes the forms of courtship, marriage, erotic ritual; above all, he rejects the historian's conventional prejudice that regards a newspaper or a state memorandum as an objective document and forgets that a novel or a sonnet or a painting is an equally objective document—with this difference, that the latter has often a hundred times the significance and the faithfulness to reality that an item in a journal has. Taine demonstrated all this almost a hundred years ago; but it is a lesson that the scholar has been slow in taking to heart: so that an American historian could write a whole book on the rise of the common man without once using the career of a pencil maker in Concord who wrote "Walden" or a typesetter and carpenter in New York who wrote "Leaves of Grass" as a gauge of the heights to which the common man could rise in the period he treated.

Finally, Friedell's book has a third virtue, and that is, while its main focus is naturally Germany, it is a comparative history of European culture, and at the end, even the United States and Japan come into its embrace. The notion that anyone can properly write history without dealing directly or by implication with a larger unit than the modern nation is here silently demolished: nothing that is of interest or importance to modern men can be treated as a purely national manifestation. The effort to encompass in detail and as a whole such a large field in time and space and human thought is in itself a respectable one: one might fail twice as badly as Friedell does and it would still be respectable.

But with all these virtues, "A Cultural History of the Modern Age" is a rotten book: a great idea in a state of dismemberment and decay. Friedell writes with a carelessness about facts which one cannot pardon as merely the inevitable allowance of error in a work of this scope. In ridiculing Pavlov's experiments with the conditioned reflex, for example, Friedell says that Pavlov was able "to confirm beyond challenge that dogs, on being shown a hambone, produced gastric juice and that their mouths also watered at the sight of it"—a jeer which plainly shows that Friedell has not the faintest notion of the difference between a plain reflex and a conditioned one. Unfortunately, Friedell takes upon himself the task not merely of showing the relation of scientific facts to other cultural facts, but of making knowing explanations which repeatedly expose his ignorance. If he were a little less godlike in the way he fabricates and dispenses knowledge he might have given the job of correcting his mistakes to Macaulay's schoolboy: it would not have overtaxed the lad. After one catches Friedell garbling elementary science, one does not have much confidence when he approaches deeper or more complex problems in thought. Actually, his literary judgments are superior to those in any other department.

Friedell's omissions are equally generous. That a book which does not disdain to deal with the erotic of the Rococo should fail even to mention the profound effects of birth control upon erotic expression is almost incredible:

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such a warm admirer of Shaw should at least have remembered John Tanner's dictum that the sterilization of marriage was the most revolutionary invention of the nineteenth century. One could multiply such blank places in his narrative. As for his imposing generalizations, when Friedell is most shrilly positive here he is usually, too, most unsound: as when, to prove the sudden catastrophic change that has put an end to "Modern Times" he even claims that none of the things which characterize the New Age was in existence before the War. No matter what one's standpoint, whether one sees the emergent age in terms of the new physics or, as Friedell seems to, in terms of the new astrology, whether one sees it in a biological philosopher like Patrick Geddes or in an anthroposophist like Steiner, Friedell's assertion is flatly untrue.

It is amusing that Friedell should have written, in his Epilogue on the collapse of reality, an acute criticism of Expressionism in art. He applies to the Expressionists Nietzsche's words: "the young speak, paint, blame and write . . . too loudly, and at the same time with the dullness and indistinctness that sound has in a vaulted place, where the emptiness gives it resonance." And Friedell adds: "The infantile, undisciplined dilettantism of the Expressionists is as remote as possible from real intellectuality." I can think of no better summing up of Friedell's own work: for it is one of the most complete, as I trust it is also one of the last, manifestations of Expressionism—that neurotic shock and collapse which was both a result of and a reaction from the dreary insanity of the World War.

LEWIS MUMFORD.

Charity Begins at Home

Letters of Charles Dickens to the Baroness Burdett-Coutts, edited by Charles C. Osborne. New York: E. P. Dutton and Company. 217 pages. $2.50.

CHARLES DICKENS wrote over six hundred letters to the Baroness Burdett-Coutts, of which Mr. Osborne, who was her secretary from 1887 to 1898, has made extracts, prefacing them with a sketch of the Baroness' life and good works. The letters show Dickens in his intimate, domestic humor which he so successfully extended to an immense reading public. They also show how genuine was another phase of his character which equally conduced to his popularity—his sympathy with the unfortunate. He wrote of raising a fund for the orphaned children of Mr. Elton, an actor; or asked help for Mr. White, a man of sixty dismissed from the staff of The Morning Herald on a change of management; or sought admission to a hospital for an old servant; or made an apology with the remark: "I had some arrangements to make for the extrication of some unhappy people from circumstances of great distress and perplexity, which have occupied my whole time." He commented at length and with understanding on a plan for a home for outcast women, and on a scheme of housing for the poor in London. He gently enlightened his correspondent on the nature of the class struggle. "You assume that the popular class takes the initiative. Now as *I* read the story, the aristocratic class did that, years and years ago, and it is *they* who have put *their* class in opposition to the country."

All this contradicts the tendency of British philanthropy, which Dickens satirized, to concern itself with the natives of Borrioboola-Gha and forget the suffering at home. Indeed, so complete was his limitation of vision and sympathy to home affairs, that we find him writing of India after the mutiny:

> I wish I were Commander-in-Chief in India. The first thing I would do to strike that Oriental race with amazement (not in the least regarding them as if they lived in the Strand, London, or at Camden Town), should be to proclaim to them in their language, that I considered my holding that appointment by the leave of God, to mean that I should do my utmost to exterminate the Race upon whom the stain of the late cruelties rested; and that I begged them to do me the special favor to observe that I was there for that purpose and no other, and was now proceeding with all convenient dispatch and merciful swiftness of execution, to blot it out of mankind and raze it off the face of the Earth.

This modest proposal passed between the two most eminent humanitarians of the nineteenth century! Truly no race is wise or good enough to rule another.

ROBERT MORSS LOVETT.

Labor Progressivism

Brookwood Labor Pamphlets, by Katherine H. Pollak. Katonah, N. Y.: Brookwood Labor College. No. 1, What a Union Did for the Coal Miners, 15c.; No. 2, Important Union Methods, 15c.; No. 3, How a Trade Union Is Run, 20c.; No. 4, Our Labor Movement Today, 35c.; No. 5, Why Bother About the Government? 10c.

PIN DOWN some friend of labor, whether proletarian or bourgeois, by questions in regard to the basic premises and elementary facts of the American labor movement, and likely as not he will falter in defending the first and generalize in stating the second. It requires a special aptitude to expound the axioms and explain the ABC of the workers' cause. Such a knack Katherine H. Pollak displays in the first five of the Brookwood Labor Pamphlets.

Her purpose, however, is not entirely to give instruction. She is a partisan. She is striving to present the point of view of Brookwood Labor College which, through personnel, is identified with the Conference for Progressive Labor Action. On the economic field the "progressive" philosophy stands for a fighting industrial unionism, and on the political for a labor party, the abolition of capitalism and the establishment of a "workers' republic." It has no faith in either the Socialist or Communist parties, in the former because of its quietism, in the latter because of its dogmatism and trickery.

The progressive point of view gives sustenance to Miss Pollak's studies. "What a Union Did for the Coal Miners" tells of the accomplishments of the United Mine Workers of America and seizes the chance to draw the moral from its decline. "Important Union Methods" speaks of the instruments of labor warfare as well as of the machinery of peace, and winds up with doubts as to the efficacy of the old procedures. "How a Trade Union Is Run" describes the workings of a local union, Local No. 1 of the Amalgamated Lithographers of America, and an international union, the Brotherhood of Railway and Steamship Clerks. In "Our Labor Movement" the reader is skillfully led, through a discussion of the Danville, Virginia, textile strike of 1930-1931 and its connections with organized labor, toward understanding the activities and the failings of the American Federation of Labor. The position of the Conference for Progressive Labor Action is compared with

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the attitudes of the Socialist party, the militant group among the Socialists and the Communist party. Finally, "Why Bother about the Government?" tries to make workers, as distinct from citizens in general, see why politics is important.

In her anxiety to create progressive propaganda, Miss Pollak sometimes sacrifices her educational aim. "Progressivism" is in reality a brand of Socialism, but she tends to present it as the common ground of all the revolutionary movements, including the Socialist and Communist parties as well as the Conference for Progressive Labor Action. This is contrary to usage. Making the Brookwood-C. P. L. A. philosophy the center of interest leads to some distortion of values and to the omission of important material in the description of the American labor movement. The exposition of the structure and functions of the American Federation of Labor might have been fuller. A word or two might have been said of the railroad brotherhoods, the Amalgamated Clothing Workers and the Industrial Workers of the World. The Socialist Labor party might have been given some space, and the various auxiliary organizations of labor might have been described. But Miss Pollak's method also has its advantages. Perhaps it is precisely because of their mixture of preaching and teaching that the Brookwood Labor Pamphlets have realism and sincerity. The reader obtains from them an insight into the progressive's view of the American labor movement.

LOUIS STANLEY.

Commissar of Monte Cristo

The Little Golden Calf, by Ilya Ilf and Eugene Petrov, with an introduction by Anatole Lunacharsky. New York: Farrar and Rinehart. $2.50.

THE PICARESQUE novel is, like the comedy, a weapon particularly serviceable to the social satirist in times of rigid official vigilance, when cap and bells are not infrequently the only way of achieving a measure of free expression. Under all governments the jester is more or less privileged. This, on the whole, has applied to the Soviet government as well.

Among the Soviet jesters, Ilf and Petrov, the authors of "The Little Golden Calf," first attracted universal attention with their uproarious Soviet extravaganza "Twelve Chairs." The central hero in both of these works is Ostap Bender, a delightfully unscrupulous rogue who, in the company of a few mercurial aides, roams through the highways and byways of the vast Union in pursuit of a hidden treasure. In the first book the hero is frustrated, for he finally discovers that a Soviet organization had accidentally unearthed the treasure and used it for building a workers' sumptuous club. In the second book, the "great schemer" is more successful: he finally tracks down his quarry—a sub-rosa Soviet millionaire—and extorts a million dollars from him. But his success is illusory. To be a millionaire in Soviet Russia means neither power nor glory nor leisure. To remain unexposed and unmolested, the Soviet millionaire is condemned to toil hard at a miserable wage, wear tattered apparel, eat nondescript food and keep eternal watch over his money-laden satchel. Profoundly disappointed, the new plutocrat with the dream of a resplendent and remote Rio de Janeiro glowing in his breast, attempts to steal across the Rumanian border, but he is nabbed by the myrmidons of capitalist law and order and stripped of all his valuables. At the end we behold our jovial, dextrous, daring, ingenious and, in his own way, great-hearted rogue, now ragged and beaten, his romantic notions of Rio de Janeiro shattered, crawling back to his native Soviet shores. "No ovations necessary, citizens," he shouts into the stillness of the night. "I have not become the Count of Monte Cristo. Methinks I shall have to master the trade of janitor!"

One does not know whether to exult or grieve over the hero's sudden resolution to learn the janitor's trade, for, to confess, behind the resolution of this blithe, casual, effervescent, romantic, irresponsible, irrepressible, individualistic and rather lovable schemer, one feels not a deeply inevitable conviction of the sublimity of labor and good citizenship, but a melancholy resignation to the drabness of Soviet life and an ironical bow to the demands of Soviet morality. In the final analysis, the authors manage to give the reader a feeling, not of a stirring moral conversion, but of a shameful spiritual collapse, a collapse too pathetic to be comic and too mean to be tragic.

More than the plot, it is the satirical depiction of various negative aspects of Soviet reality that makes "The Little Golden Calf" significant—inefficiency, bureaucracy, peculation, petty graft, nepotism, hypocrisy, toadying, cant. Particularly caustic is the portrait of the Soviet careerist Yegor Skumbrievich, whom "it was beyond anyone's power to expose . . . for he delivered the correct speeches about Soviet life, about cultural work, about vocational guidance, about various active circles . . . all of which was a mirage" existing in his own "swollen imagination." Then there is the hilarious delineation of the munificently paid, unutilized, and therefore frantically indignant, German specialist. "You know," remarks one of the Russian managers, "I think he is simply quarrelsome. So help me God! All the man has to do is to sit at his desk, do absolutely nothing, receive a heap of money. And still he complains!"

The novel is full of such titbits. "In Soviet Russia," asserts one of the officials who simulates madness so as to escape prosecution, "the insane asylum is the only place where a normal man can live. Everything else is superbedlam. I prefer to live here with genuine madmen. At least they are not trying to build socialism. Besides, here they give you to eat, while there, in the bedlam, you merely work. . . . Here at least there is personal liberty, freedom of conscience, freedom of speech. . . . "

Clearly, Anatole Lunacharsky is altogether wrong when in his Introduction he assures us that "Ilf and Petrov are very gay people . . . not baffled by the sordidness of life." Wrong, too, are the American publishers when they refer to "The Little Golden Calf" as "the book that's too funny to be published in Russia." Under their mask of gayety, superficiality and innocuous buffoonery, Ilf and Petrov have written a very serious book. The authors aim to hit, and hit hard, at the most vulnerable spots. Theirs is more than Bolshevik self-criticism. In places they challenge the basic principles of collectivism and the communist state, a thing the Bolsheviks, who have no pretensions to liberalism, have always frankly refused to tolerate. Certainly, in declining to publish this book, the Soviet authorities were more consistent than was Lunacharsky in recommending it. Yet it may be plausibly suggested that in matters as delicate as creative art consistency is not necessarily the greatest of virtues, especially when it threatens to, and often actually does, degenerate into the application of mechanical formulas. In matters of art, the victorious workers, sustained by their faith in the inspiring and cleansing power of the proletarian revolution, can certainly afford to be more or less indulgent.

JOSHUA KUNITZ.

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Book Notes

Biography

JOHN CLARE: A Life, by J. W. and Anne Tibble. *New York: Oxford University Press. 468 pages. $3.75.*

The early work of John Clare has been compared with Burns and his later work with Blake. His peasant origin and the subjects of his verse suggest the former comparison; the madness which afflicted him from middle life to his death suggests the latter. Actually, he was of the stature of neither Burns nor Blake, but he was a lyric poet of real genius and his life, the outlines of which have long been familiar, is one of the saddest in the history of English literature. This scholarly biography corrects several errors of its predecessors and fills in the outline with abundant detail. After a youth of struggle and self-education, Clare, the son of a farm laborer, became famous upon the publication of his first volume in 1820. But the recognition he received was rather the sentimental interest in a peasant bard than a real understanding of his poetic worth. His succeeding volumes, which showed considerable growth, were coldly greeted; with the diminution of the fad for him, Clare's downfall began. The details of his suffering as he tried but failed to support his wife, his many children and his aged parents by manual as well as literary labor are heartbreaking. His influential friends, never certain how to treat him, meddled in his affairs, but never meddled long enough to extricate him, and often blocked his own efforts. The strain of poverty, of chagrin for his lost fame and of his unhappy marriage drove him to madness.

MEN AGAINST DEATH, by Paul De Kruif. *New York: Harcourt, Brace and Company. 375 pages, illustrated. $3.50.*

Paul De Kruif's new book has all the good and bad qualities of "Microbe Hunters," but the faults, this time, are beginning to outweigh the virtues. Once more the author makes an excursion into the borderland that lies between pure science and the fine art of healing. He writes about twelve medical pioneers, including Semmelweis, McCoy, Banting, Schaudinn, Minot and Wagner-Jauregg. Nine of these De Kruif has known, and he speaks of them all in the tone of a former schoolmate who has often played in the yard where their underwear was hung on the line to dry. His anecdotes are full of color. But the task to which these scientists devoted their lives—the war against such diseases as diabetes and syphilis—is so dramatic in itself, the scientific material is so important, that one hates to see the story "dramatized," told in a journalistic style with a continual straining for effect.

Religion

THE DRAMA OF LIFE AFTER DEATH: A Study of the Spiritualist Religion, by George Lawton. *New York: Henry Holt and Company. 696 pages. $3.75.*

In his preface the author warns his reader, "But at all times let him remember that the Spiritualists are seriously and personally faced with something even closer to them than love, and far older and stronger—death." This statement suggests the tone of Mr. Lawton's study. He is not a Spiritualist, but he investigates the phenomenon of Spiritualism in a manner that is sympathetic and understanding without losing its tone of objectivity and impartiality. He confesses that he is not directly concerned with the truth or untruth of data which the Spiritualists term "evidential," but that rather he is interested in "facts, motives, beliefs." He treats, in well documented fashion, the Spiritualist theology, its institutionalized aspects as an organized religion, and the motivations which impel people to embrace this particular creed. In his analysis of motivation, Mr. Lawton applies the technique of psychoanalysis. If read from cover to cover, "The Drama of Life After Death" grows dismal—mainly because of the closeness of the Spiritualist atmosphere—but it is a valuable and sound case or reference book. It contains a full bibliography and an inclusive index.

Reprints

THE DECLINE AND FALL OF THE ROMAN EMPIRE, by Edward Gibbon. *New York: The Modern Library. 2 vols. 2,779 pages. $2.*

The best bargains in books are not to be found on the remainder shelves, as witness this new edition of Gibbon's "Rome"—the complete text printed in large type on a good quality of paper, and cloth-bound in two fat volumes. The series to which it belongs, the Modern Library Giants, also includes Tolstoy's "War and Peace," Hugo's "Les Misérables," Boswell's "Life of Johnson" and "The Complete Poems of Keats and Shelley," each complete in a single volume.

THE DECLINE OF THE WEST, by Oswald Spengler. *New York: Alfred A. Knopf. 1,003 pages. $5.*

A great many people read the first volume of this "morphology of history" when it originally appeared; but not so many read the second, and they were not always the same people. For the benefit of those who neglected to complete their reading of Spengler, and those who borrowed his book and overconscientiously returned it, and those who never read it at all, the publisher has issued this important work in a single volume in an edition limited to 10,000 copies.

Fiction

THE LAST OF CHERI, by Collette. *New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons. $2.*

After the War Chéri is no longer simple, and Léa, the mistress of his adolescence, no longer beautiful. His young wife is preoccupied with her veterans' hospital and her clever speculations on the market. Chéri becomes a neurasthenic and, unable to learn again to believe in life, sets out to revive his memory of Léa, who was his France of before the War. He finds a witness to her former splendor in the person of a shabby old courtesan, and it is in her apartment that, when she has no more reminiscences for him and the photographs no longer animate his bitter imagination, he puts an end to the life which has been lived with precocious haste. Chéri's anguish is comprehensible in such an exquisite creature of pure instinct, a creature "whose only gayety was the gayety of malice," and because Colette is a fine artist it is intellectually commendable. That we have in this country no such type will not detract interest from a beautifully complete portrayal of its perfection. The Chéri on the jacket, preening in full dress before the mirror, is inaccurate; we should see him as he wandered contentedly in his nudity about Léa's boudoir—Chéri, *"gigolo-Narcisse."*

Contributors

Horace Gregory, who has published a translation of Catullus and a volume of verse called "Chelsea Rooming House," will publish in the spring a new book of poems entitled "No Retreat."

Harold Ward, whose field is the philosophy of science and the scientific method, is a member of the Editorial Division of the Continental Association of Technocrats.

Lawrence Dennis, formerly employed by an international banking firm, is now lecturing and writing for magazines. His book on the present crisis, "Is Capitalism Doomed?" was published last year by Harper's.

Lewis Mumford, whose various books on art, literature, social sciences and architecture are well known to readers of The New Republic, recently returned from Europe where he was studying on a Guggenheim Fellowship. He is at present at work on a book concerning form.

Louis Stanley, instructor in Labor at the Rand School of Social Science, spent several months last fall investigating conditions in the anthracite coal-mining districts.

Joshua Kunitz, who has spent much time in Russia studying the national minorities and the latest developments in Soviet literature, returned to that country two months ago after a brief stay in New York.

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